

NYT 12/26

By WILLIAM R. GREER

During a two-month trek through northern Afghanistan with a group of Afghan rebels, an American film maker visited two areas that were only 30 miles apart but appeared as different as separate countries because of four years of war.

One area, Istailf, a sprawling walled city of 150,000 people 23 miles north-northwest of Kabul, the nation's capital, had never seen war, only fighting between rival factions in the Mujahedeen, a loosely knit Afghan rebel group.

The other, 40 miles northeast of Kabul in the Panjshir Valley, has been the site of heavy fighting between Soviet forces and Afghan rebels and has become a base of organized resistance.

The film maker, Melissa Burch, who is 22 years old and lives in Washington, was making a film for the BBC and was traveling with a British journalist, Timothy Cooper, who wrote the script. It was Miss Burch's second trip to Afghanistan. On her first a year ago, she produced a film on the southern part of the country.

#### 2 Join a Caravan

In early September, Miss Burch and Mr. Cooper joined a 30-hour caravan in Peshawar, Pakistan, that was taking arms, mostly Chinese-made rifles, to Istailf. They crossed the Pakistani-Afghan border on Sept. 6, traveling during the night along mountain trails south of the Khyber Pass, and reached Istailf nine days later.

"In Istailf, it was so normal," Miss Burch said recently in an interview in New York.

"They were not on guard because they had never experienced the Russians," she said of the people of Istailf. "They had not built the bomb shelters that you saw in other areas."

Istailf was still run by the village elders, as villages there traditionally are. The schools were taught by religious leaders, Miss Burch said, and students learned only the Koran.

In addition, she said, there seemed to be little tension between the Afghan rebels in the village and the Afghan Government soldiers manning a post overlooking the village bazaar.

"During the day, I was able to move about," she said. "The Mujahedeen carried their guns, and the Government post just watched everything."

Saying that "this very delicate balance" had lasted for two years, Miss Burch said the people of Istailf were mainly afraid that two rebel factions would fight again. A battle two years ago caused minor damage in the city.

Miss Burch and Mr. Cooper left Istailf after two and a half weeks when a house they were staying in was bombed by Soviet-made jets and helicopters. A day after they left, they later learned, a heavier bombing raid killed 14 people. As they entered the Panjshir, the effects of war were immediately apparent. Soviet troops were stationed at the entrance to the valley, but the valley

was controlled by rebels. A year-old cease-fire seemed to be holding.

Miss Burch said she and Mr. Cooper found that the valley people had "totally different temperaments" than the residents of Istailf.

"They had seen the war," she said. "They knew what war meant. They had seen their homes destroyed."

Other evidence of the war's impact was more subtle, Miss Burch said. The villages that line the valley are no longer run by village elders but by one rebel commander, Ahmed Shah Massoud, a 30-year-old engineer. Miss Burch said he ran a rebel training camp and frequently sent his fighters to defend villages in other regions and train their fighters.

In the schools, the children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic and history. Their teachers were educated Afghans, not religious leaders. The men of the village no longer worked in the fields, leaving that task to women.

"In winter, it's very quiet, very few caravans, very few attacks," Miss Burch said. "But it was a time that Massoud took to go to other villages."

"Spring will show the effect," she said, "when the action comes again."



The New York Times/Dec. 25, 1983

Istailf and Panjshir were visited by U.S. film maker. Underlined sites are air bases the Russians now use.

#### IRAN REPORTS AFGHAN REFUGEES SCMP 1/14

Islamabad, Jan 13.

Iran has deported up to 3,000 Afghan refugees from its eastern border areas to neighbouring Pakistan in a sharp break with its earlier, more liberal treatment of the exiles, according to Pakistani officials and international aid workers in Quetta.

The sudden and unexplained deportations, which began last month, amount to the most puzzling influx of refugees seen in Pakistan's western province of Baluchistan since fighting began between Afghan guerrillas and the Soviet-backed Kabul Government five years ago, they told Reuters in interviews in Islamabad.

The worry among refugee officials now, they added, was that the flow might continue, straining Baluchistan's already scarce resources and possibly upsetting the shaky balance between the backward province's various tribes and ethnic groups.

"We have registered about 2,000 in camps so far," Mr Khadim Hussain, the provincial commissioner for refugees, said. His office had geared up for a wave of 15,000 but that now appeared unlikely, he added.

Up to 1,000 more are living in several areas across the barren province, some without even basic food rations, relief workers said. Baluchistan already has over 600,000 registered refugees.

"Even 2,000 is enormous for Baluchistan," commented one aid worker who asked not to be named.

This is the tip of an iceberg. We don't really know why they are coming or what will happen," he added.

The fighting in Afghanistan, which began with the 1978 communist coup and escalated sharply after Soviet troops arrived the following year, has driven almost three million refugees east and south into Pakistan and another 1.5 million west into Iran, according to official figures.

While Pakistan accepted massive international aid and set up about 380 refugee camps, revolutionary Iran refused all outside help and let the Afghans live and work as they pleased. Many refugees even left Pakistani camps for better-paying jobs in Iran.

The clearest indication of Iran's tougher stand came early last month when the Interior Minister, Mr Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, said Tehran wanted to clear a 30-km strip along its border with Afghanistan and would deport any refugee refusing to register.

Mr Nateq-Nuri, who also promised to deport Afghan lawbreakers, made his comments after two people died on December 2 in Tehran protests against the refugees, who are blamed in both Iran and Pakistan for crimes and violence.

The first deportees arrived at Koh-i-Taftan on the Iran-Pakistan border early last month, saying they had been brought at least part of the way there in Iranian Army trucks and chartered buses, the relief workers reported.

The refugees said they refused to co-operate with the registration drive because they feared the authorities would send them to what was believed to be a high-security labour camp near Kerman in southeastern Iran, they said.

Many said they also feared being sent to fight in Iran's war with Iraq and a few claimed they were asked to work in Bandar Abbas, the Iranian port area facing the strategic Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Gulf.

The relief workers could not confirm or deny persistent rumours that refugees were being sent to the Iraqi front since Tehran rarely co-operates with international aid agencies and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has no office there, they said.

Most Afghans in Iran are believed to be Persian-speaking members of the Shia Muslim sect predominant there, but almost all those deported have been Pashtu-speaking tribal families belonging to the Sunni sect favoured in Iraq.

Some deportees mentioned their religious link with the Iraqis as a reason not to fight them.

—Reuter.

# Disgruntled Afghan rebel flushed out

Quetta, Jan 11. — A disgruntled Afghan guerrilla leader held up rebel arms convoys into southern and western Afghanistan for two weeks before rival insurgents flushed him out of a hilltop stronghold on Monday, guerrilla sources said in Quetta, Pakistan, today.

Ten men were killed when a force of about 1,000 guerrillas attacked Mr Asmat Muslim and his 300 men at their positions 30 km north of the Pakistan border town of Chaman, the sources said.

The larger group, drawn from several exiled parties fighting the Soviet-backed Kabul Government, took three days to reopen the main road from Chaman to Kandahar, the second-largest city in Afghanistan.

Although their main targets are the 105,000 Soviet troops who have been in Afghanistan since December 1979, the disorganized rebel groups sometimes turn on each other in clashes sparked by political differences or tribal rivalries.

The sources said Mr Muslim, son of an Afghan general and himself trained in Afghan and Soviet military schools, had fallen out with other guerrilla commanders over distribution of arms and ammunition.

After repeated disputes in Quetta, base for some of the guerrilla groups fighting in Kandahar and western Afghanistan, Mr Muslim and

his men took to a stronghold inside Afghanistan to stop arms convoys belonging to rival groups.

He was soon confiscating weapons and holding up the flow of arms to Kandahar, where the sources said guerrillas have mounted a serious challenge to Kabul's control of the city.

"The battle opened up a Pandora's box," one guerrilla leader said.

The sources said Mr Muslim, who became a guerrilla soon after the communist coup of April 1978, had now

retreated to his Achakzai tribe's area close to the Pakistan border and traffic had resumed along the Kandahar road.

Although the blockade slowed the flow of arms into Kandahar, guerrillas in the city appeared to be maintaining their pressure on Soviet and Afghan forces stationed there.

Rebel sources in Quetta said guerrillas now roamed freely in Kandahar's old city, occasionally shooting secret policemen and soldiers.

Many of the guerrillas have been driven into Kandahar by repeated Soviet and Afghan bombing raids, on nearby villages believed to be rebel strongholds, the sources said.

—Reuter.

SCNP 1/12

Newsworld 1/16

## The Afghan Rebels' Other Enemy

Disease and famine may accomplish what the Soviet Army cannot: the defeat of the rebel guerrillas in Afghanistan. A new survey of rebel-held villages conducted by medical aides of the Association of Afghan Mujahedin Doctors concludes that virtually all the people in the free regions of Afghanistan are suffering from some form of malnutrition. One in three people has tuberculosis; malaria, rare before the Soviet invasion, has reached epidemic proportions, and as many as 40 percent of the children in the rebel zones are dying of measles. Mujahedin leaders attribute the disastrous conditions to the Soviet devastation of the grain crop, farm equipment and livestock. In Washington, rebel representatives have used the survey as part of their lobbying campaign for increased U.S. support, so far without success.

■ According to a diplomatic source in Moscow, the Soviet Union recently admitted 200 Pakistani students to a special school in Tashkent for indoctrination in Marxism-Leninism and training in terrorist tactics. Pakistani officials fear that the Soviets will repatriate the students to foment unrest in troubled areas like Baluchistan as a way of pressuring Pakistan to reduce its support for the rebel guerrillas battling Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

# When brotherly love sours ....

By Tom Henehan

**PESHAWAR (Pakistan)** — Mohammad Rafi is the kind of Afghan refugee Pakistanis worry about. He's here and he wants to stay.

"I'm not going back," said the 32-year old former science teacher, who now makes his living doing Persian-English translations and other odd jobs.

"There's no future for me in Kabul anymore," he shrugged. "I wouldn't go back even if the war ended and the Russians promised to leave."

There are probably thousands of middle-class Afghans like Rafi in Pakistan now putting down roots despite strict legal bans on their settling, buying property or carrying Pakistani identity cards.

Many more of the 2.8 million refugees are peasants living in refugee camps along the border, some of which are so vast and well-established that Pakistani neighbours worry whether they will stay for good.

Pakistani officials believe the refugees would leave the 360-odd camps for home if the five-year Afghan war ended. To calm the fears of their countrymen, some have taken to talking tough about the people Islamabad welcomed here as a sign of Islamic solidarity.

## Tough Talk

"They might want to settle in Pakistan, but the government doesn't want them to," Brigadier Khadim Hussain, Commissioner for Afghan Refugees in Baluchistan Province, told Reuters in Quetta.

## Eviction process

"If a settlement comes and some don't want to go back, we'll probably have to force them back, he added.

Sajjad Hyder, a former Ambassador to Moscow, wrote in a newspaper series this month that the refugees were becoming a dangerous state within a

state which could help Islamic Fundamentalist groups block any return to Parliamentary Democracy here.

Recalling the long history of Afghan invasions of the subcontinent, he warned, "There is no record of any Afghan going back."

As for the less-visible Afghan community settling into Pakistani cities, both the Military Government and the banned Opposition there have seized on the question as a possible campaign issue in the run-up to the elections promised by March 1985.

Lieutenant General Ghulam Jilani Khan, governor of Punjab province, told local councillors last month to crack down on Afghans illegally buying Pakistani identity cards, passports and property.

Officials in Quetta, capital of Baluchistan Province bordering on Afghanistan, have begun evicting refugees from houses and shops they illegally bought there.

Even in Sind, the southern province furthest from the border, police have been making a survey of how many refugees have settled there.

Sensing a popular frustration with the refugees, the Opposition Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) has charged that the refugees were buying up scarce land, smuggling drugs and committing other crimes without paying any penalty.

"No government worth the name can possibly tolerate the way they flout the laws of the land in which they have been given refuge," the MRD Central Committee said after meeting here.

## Attractions

Rafi, who asked that pseudonym be used to protect officials from identifying him, said Pakistan had several attractions for the

Pashtu, the majority language in Afghanistan and the mother tongue of most refugees, is spoken throughout Pakistan's tribal belt along the border with Afghanistan.

Pakistani culture is also Moslem and even Urdu, the national language, is not too foreign.

"We used to have a lot of Urdu films in Kabul, so a lot of us can understand some," Rafi said.

Many refugees have relatives here who can help them get Pakistani identity cards. If not, Rafi said, some tribal chief can be bribed for about 400 rupees (30 dollars) to get the papers.

Armed with the identity card, the refugee can then apply for a passport, buy property or marry into a Pakistani family without any more legal problems.

Some investors have taken a riskier route, buying their stores or houses through a Pakistani frontman who ensures smooth registration of the purchase — but can then keep the property for himself.

"My Pakistani cousin is my partner and he ensures everything here is legal," said an Islamabad carpet salesman, who requested anonymity.

## Tense

In Quetta, where officials set up a new refugee camp to take the refugees from over 100 repatriated houses, political sources said the Afghans could soon aggravate the already tense relations between the native Pashtun and Baluch populations.

The Baluch are already a minority in their own province.

The Island (Sri Lanka) 2/11

## WESTERN GOODS ARE WEAPON OF SOVIETS IN AFGHANISTAN

(Asian Wall Street Journal  
1/23)

By Faiz M. Khairzada

**PESHAWAR, Pakistan** — This gateway to the Khyber Pass in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier Province once was a sleepy border town where tall, turbaned Pathan tribesmen roamed the bazaars and gathered to chat in tea shops. Today, after four years of Soviet occupation of neighboring Afghanistan, and an influx of about 2.5 million refugees, 50% of whom live in and around Peshawar, it has become a center of international politics, intrigue and a smuggling operation that is the latest Soviet economic weapon in the struggle for Southwest Asia.

While the Afghan-refugee settlements have placed an enormous financial, social and political burden on Pakistan, an economic policy labeled "limited capitalism" and launched in 1982 by the Soviets and their puppet regime in Kabul may turn out to be even more destructive for both Pakistan and the Afghan *mujahideen*, or freedom fighters. This policy is designed to subvert the *mujahideen* and compromise the Pakistani government while providing an economic prop for the bankrupt Kabul regime.

Afghan sources believe that the "limited capitalism" policy — which involves the importation of luxury goods, a large share of which is then smuggled out again into Pakistan along with hashish — is the brainchild of the KGB, working through the Afghan minister of commerce. It is being implemented by a state-owned company, Afghan Kart, that is headed by a cousin of President Babrak Karmal, and is making a select group of favored businessmen very well off indeed.

"Limited capitalism," Afghan style, seems to have four goals:

(1) For Soviet troops, Afghanistan is a dangerous and filthy war, and morale is poor. Moscow apparently has decided that the opportunity to buy Western luxury goods in the Kabul bazaar — American designer jeans and cigarettes, French perfume, Scotch whisky and an array of Japanese electronic goods — may give them a little incentive and help prevent further deterioration of morale.

(2) Since — even with the help of the Soviet army — the puppet regime in Kabul controls less than 20% of the countryside, it no longer has a tax base. "Four years of Soviet occupation have virtually destroyed the economy," says a Third World businessman who often visits Kabul. "The Soviets have destroyed agriculture, wiped out farmlands, irrigation systems, orchards. And the Communist Party takeover of the few private-sector industries since 1978 has crippled production."

The regime's main source of revenue now is the taxes collected in Kabul and a few other urban centers, forcing Moscow to pump in economic aid. By encouraging imports and smuggling some to Pakistan,

where they compete with items subject to Pakistani import licenses and customs duties, the regime has substantially increased its own revenues from customs duties. These reportedly now account for 80% of Afghan government revenues.

(3) Soviet-Afghan policy includes not only the smuggling of luxury items into Pakistan, but — specifically — the smuggling of large quantities of items banned by Pakistani law: pornography, alcoholic beverages and hashish, in a deliberate attempt to undermine Pakistan's legal and social structure.

(4) While the bulk of import licenses are issued to selected Afghan and Indian traders, the job of smuggling the imported goods and drugs into Pakistan is managed by Pathan tribesmen on both sides of the border. The *mujahideen* who control most of the highways and mountain passes leading into Pakistan are often bought off with bribes or profit sharing.

The attempt to improve Soviet army morale has backfired: Underpaid ordinary soldiers and officers, unable to buy the goodies they see in the Kabul bazaars, sell whatever they can — weapons, ammunition, gasoline, even jeeps and trucks — to the *mujahideen* to raise cash, or they loot businesses, shops and homes at night after the 10 p.m. curfew imposed on the local population.

The soldiers sell guns and ammunition to buy Japanese tape recorders or German lingerie for their girlfriends in Russia," says a Kabul shopkeeper. "But the officers, they sell you caviar from their commissary and even their jeeps, trucks and tankers full of petrol — for half the market price — so they can buy gold or Swiss watches."

However, in its other aspects, the policy is beginning to have some effect. Increased customs revenues — and the profits on the

hashish — give the Kabul regime some semblance of a budget while the chosen few Afghan and Indian businessmen, in partnership with Communist Party members, are making handsome profits. The long-range potential impact in Pakistan, too, can't be ignored. "Let's face it," says one Pakistani official. "We are not hurt by a few TV sets and a little pornography smuggled here from Kabul. But it is true that the tremendous flow of alcohol is undermining the basic Islamic principles we insist upon, and it has a corrupting effect on our military and civil servants, who pay 400 rupees (US\$37.00) for a bottle of Scotch." The potential damage from the drug trade is, of course, even greater.

While the *mujahideen* welcome the equipment they can get, and laugh about the corruption in the ranks of the Soviet army, some of their leaders are apprehensive about the corrupting effect of the smuggling and bribery on the freedom fighters themselves, their war effort and their reputation, as well as about the infiltration of communist agents through the smuggling operations. "In Peshawar it is becoming very difficult to tell who is a real freedom-fighter and who is a profiteer posing as one," a freedom fighter laments. "Profiteering is dividing us and diminishing our capacity as a united force fighting for our holy cause."

The Soviets apparently calculate that the long-term value of this policy in dividing and discrediting both the *mujahideen* and Pakistan will, in the long run, work to their advantage. They may be right.

*Faiz M. Khairzada, deputy minister of information and culture in Afghanistan before the communist coup of 1978, now lives in the New York area. He recently spent several weeks in Peshawar.*

## AFGHANS IDENTIFY WITH ANIMAL FARM by Anthony Hyman from Peshawar (SCMP 1/21)

THE publication of *Animal Farm* in Pashito this month shows the wide appeal and continuing relevance of George Orwell's most popular novel.

The Pashto version is intended for circulation inside Afghanistan, as well as among Afghans exiled in Pakistan.

It is the first in a Pashto series being published from Peshawar, just across the Afghan border, by the Writers Union of Free Afghanistan, formed last year by Afghan intellectuals living there.

One of the union's aims is to "publish material of practical use to the freedom fighters to counter the indoctrination ... and Sovietisation efforts of the Soviet Union and her installed regime."

Other original books and pamphlets by Afghan writers are planned.

They are intended to help fill the vacuum of serious political debate within the Af-

ghan resistance, providing a counter to the sophisticated propaganda campaign currently being waged from Kabul.

The Writers Union believes that progressive secular, democratic ideas such as are found in Orwell's novel can be a potent weapon against Marxist ideology.

The translator and writer of the introduction to the Pashto edition is Dr. Rasuli Amin, a former professor of political science at Kabul University, who survived torture and imprisonment in Kabul's Pul-e-Charkhi prison after the communist-led coup in 1978.

Orwell's theme in the satire is defined by Dr. Amin as being anger at "injustice and oppression suffered by the ordinary people."

The novel is an ideal choice for broadening the political debate among Afghans, according to Dr. Amin, because of its wit and directness.

There are parallels be-

tween the stages of the Bolshevik revolution ending in dictatorship and the terror under Stalin and the recent experience of Afghanistan, says Dr. Amin.

In Afghan and Soviet societies the secret police enjoy immense powers and regularly abuse them.

In his introduction Dr. Amin writes that party strategy is to work through the new generation, by indoctrinating the impressionable and malleable youth of both sexes.

Party ideology, claims Dr. Amin, requires party members, "to do all they can to struggle against the national traditions" of their country.

An essential part of the Soviet strategy in Afghanistan is seen as attracting at least a few of the religious leaders, by generous rewards and privileges, "to conspire with the Russians so that through these people the way would be open for complete communism of the country."

**Items from the AFGHAN INFORMATION CENTER  
MONTHLY BULLETIN (no. 35, 2/84):**

**Subversion in Reverse:** "Kabul-Soviet authorities are very active in buying some mujahed commanders, in infiltrating resistance groups with their agents in order to provoke fighting amongst the mujahideen or make them defect to the government side. In Kabul they are given large radio & TV coverage & driven in open cars through the city; then these defectors from the resistance are presented as 'good patriots deceived by Imperialism & now having understood their errors, they are ready to take arms in the defense of the revolution.' Actually, some of the defectors are given short training with new arms & even armored cars & sent against the mujahideen. But the Kabul authorities never talk about the other side of the story: they never mention how many of those defectors defected back to the resistance with the new military equipment they have been given." A commander from Istalef says, "For some time the Kabul authorities had succeeded in infiltrating some of our groups & bribing some commanders. The result was that internal fighting among mujahideen increased and whenever a group was going to be defeated it would run to the government side. Then those defectors were paraded in Kabul, armed & sent back against us. They established militia outposts in our region. Some of the defectors, knowing our positions & our way of movement, were more harmful than the Russians. Then a month or so ago four of the new militia outposts in Kalakan & Istalef Districts surrendered peacefully to the mujahideen & the defectors defected back to our side, but this time they came with brand new weapons, huge amounts of various ammunition & lots of interesting information." \* \* \*

"A special issue of the Soviet paper Red Star, an imitation of the original printed & disseminated by friends of the Afghan resistance in western countries, is reported to have been widely distributed in Kabul. The paper carried a cartoon of a Soviet soldier breaking up his Kalashnikov & saying 'Stop the war! Let us go home!' But the Kabul residents have taken it more seriously than the authors intended.

People in Kabul are saying that some Soviet soldiers, unhappy about the war in Afghanistan, had sent proposals to their government & articles to the Red Star but the paper refused to publish them. Then the Russian authors published their views in a special issue of the same journal in the underground press. The Russians brought the paper to Kabul & distributed it among their own people. In this paper, the Kabulis say, the Russians are explaining to their own people that friendship with a country does not mean depriving it from its freedom & its territorial integrity & the war in Afghanistan is dishonoring the Soviet Union."

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**Blind Guards:** A resistance group in charge of attacks on the Khost airfield heard guards shouting every night - "Who is there? Stop!" The group captured 2 of the shouting guards & discovered that the unarmed guards were blind and had been beggars in Kunduz. A Government official had picked them up one day & taken them to a place where a Russian told them, "The Soviet Socialist Regime wants to save the Afghan people from long centuries of human misery...You are blind & you will not need to feel miserable & beg. You will be given food & warm shelter & Afs. 2,000 per month. The only small service we ask you to do is stay awake during the night & when you hear noises or footsteps just shout out loud - 'Who is there? Stop!'" From Kunduz they were flown to Khost. "It was our first trip in a plane," they told their captors, "we have never had it so good in our whole lives. Now there are 20 of us blind men from Kunduz eating & sleeping during the day and shouting 'Who is there? Stop!' during the night."

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The resistance groups are still active along the Kabul-Jalalabad highway but there is a problem. The Russians are putting an increasing number of civilian transport vehicles in with their military convoys in the area and, since the resistance is reluctant to hurt civilians, it can not mine the road nor attack the convoys efficiently.

# Dependency syndromes

**A study sponsored by the Danish Refugee Council points to some disturbing trends affecting Afghan refugees of Pashtun origin.**

Now that many of Pakistan's refugees have lived in the camps for several years and relief operations are generally running smoothly, their life is one of relative material security. But many of them now face another problem, perhaps equally serious: their life has turned into one of dependency, they have become receivers. And this may mean the beginning of a slow process of disintegration of cultural identity, moral standards and self-esteem.

The Afghan refugees live either independently in or near the towns or else in one of the numerous refugee camps. Those who possess some skill or trade or brought capital and equipment for setting up their own business, have mainly settled in or around the towns. Being an entrepreneurial and active people, a large number have succeeded in earning their living through skilled or unskilled wage-labour, trades like the carpet business, or transport services. Of the refugees living in the camps, on the other hand, only a relatively small part are craftsmen or artisans. There one mostly finds refugees from Afghanistan's rural parts, former landowners, large and small, or tenants.

It is this category of cultivators, the majority of whom are ethnically Pashtun (Pathans), who are most exposed to the "dependency syndrome". Former agriculturalists who now have no access to land, they are in the most difficult position of all refugees when it comes to finding income-generating employment. Most are condemned to idleness.

In the Pashtun tribal universe, land-holding and all activities and positions related to it are the core of the value system, being closely associated with central cultural concepts such as independence, equality and honour. Landownership and cultivating of land are given higher prestige than any other activities, and non-agricultural work such as trading, carpentry, weaving and so on, is performed by caste - like groups of inferior social status.

Thus the hierarchic order of the traditional Pashtun society has been turned upside down.

Those groups who were formerly in a dependent position now have the better possibility of leading an independent existence, thanks to their crafts and skills, and precisely those who formerly enjoyed the means and symbols of independence - control of landed property - are now in the worst position as refugees.

The psychological problems caused by this situation manifest themselves in various ways: poor health, passivity, despair. It is estimated that in many refugee camps 50-60 per cent of the "patients" visiting the dispensaries and clinics daily are not physically ill. Among the most common psychosomatic complaints are diffuse aches, coughs, unidentifiable fevers, hyperacidity as well as gastric and digestive troubles. They are caused by stress, anxiety about the future and the frustration of economic dependence without any possibility of influencing their own situation.

In response to these problems some health teams attempt, as far as possible, to supplement clinical examination by conversation with individual patients in order to obtain an understanding of his or her background and general situation. Without their land, the entire basis of their daily life, the rhythm and routine of their existence have disintegrated. Their days are long and empty, most are bored.

The report also discusses two further groups of refugees who are particularly exposed to the danger of continued dependence: single women and widows with families to look after, as well as the young generation of Afghans now growing up in the camps. Regarding the latter, the study underlines the strong attitude prevailing against secular education of girls. In the UNWFP's approximately 250 refugee camps, for instance, 204 schools were opened for boys, only 14 schools for girls (1982 figures). But even for boys the number of schools is insufficient. For many refugee children for whom there is no room in the schools, or who have no opportunity of education at all because they happen to be girls, the prospects of eventual economic self-reliance appear to be very poor indeed.

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AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER  
(Vol. XIII, No. 12, December 1983)  
describes torture in Afghanistan:

"AI has received consistent reports of the torture and ill-treatment of people taken into custody by the Afghan authorities, especially the security police, the *Khad*. Former prisoners have told AI of eight detention centres in the capital, Kabul, where political suspects have been interrogated under torture by the *Khad*. In some cases prisoners are reported to have died or suffered serious injury.

The former prisoners testified to AI that torture was used systematically by the *Khad*, the State Information Police. Beatings, electric shocks and deprivation of sleep were among the methods used, they said.

All the information available to AI shows that the victims include not only many people reported to have been involved in armed resistance to the government but many others seized on mere suspicion of opposition. They include civil servants, students and teachers; and people who told AI they had been arrested as a warning to others.

Some were arrested for such apparent reasons as having relatives abroad, or having foreign literature.

The eight places in Kabul which were reported to AI as torture sites are: (1) *Khad-i-Panj* (*Khad* Office No. 5); (2) the headquarters of the *Khad* in the Shash-darak district; (3) the Internal Affairs Ministry building; (4) the Central Interrogation Office, known as the *Sederat* (the former official residence of the Prime Minister); (5) the office of the military branch of the *Khad*, known as *Khad-i-Nezami*; two private houses near the *Sederat* building; (6) the Ahmad Shah Khan house and (7) the Wasir Akbar Khan house; and (8) the *Khad* office in the Howzai Barikat district.

Little information appears in the Afghan press about political imprisonment or arrests and it is impossible to gauge the full extent of political imprisonment in the country.

The largest prison - Pul-e-Charchi on the outskirts of Kabul - is widely believed to hold several thousand inmates, most reportedly being political prisoners.

In addition to the eight detention centres in Kabul, AI knows of others in the provincial towns of Jalalabad, Faizabad, Khost, Gardez, Khunduz, Ghazni, Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-e-Sharif and Shiberghan. AI has no information on the number of prisoners detained in these centres:

← "Towards the Self-Reliance of Afghan Refugees? A Study of the Need and Feasibility of Establishing Income-Generating and Skill-Training Programmes for Afghan Refugees in Pakistan, particularly with a view to Women", by Inger W. Boeschen, Danish Refugee Council, Copenhagen.

## WOMEN AMONG AFGHAN REFUGEES

As 1984 begins, many Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan prepare for a 5th year of exile. Since hopes for an early return to their homeland are still dim, it is heartening to note a growing willingness on the part of assistance planners to consider projects for Afghan refugee women. Previously, it was averred that as long as women were safe, they should better be left alone.

The legendary ferocity with which Afghan males protect their women, symbols of honor in each household, deterred administrators. In addition, The DRA's attempts to force women to participate publicly in their programs intensified male resistance to outside interference in matters affecting women. In the early days of refugee migration, programs for women, were, therefore, anathemas; the mere mention of them could incur threats of bodily harm. In 1983 almost 5,000 girls were reported to be attending primary schools in the Refugee Tent Villages in Baluchistan & the NWFP. It is estimated that this represents about 2% of the total number of school-age girls living in the RTVs: a step up from the 1% said to have been enrolled in pre-coup Afghanistan. Negative attitudes, strengthened by certain cultural patterns which hindered educational progress for girls in the past, persist. For instance, in 1983, RTV schools in the NWFP enrolled 2,980 girls in Class I, but only 5 girls were said to be attending Class V. Puberty, it appears, still signals the end of schooling for many girls in the RTVs.

In addition to education, a few tentative steps have been taken to set up income-generating projects, particularly for embroidery. New trends in health programs emphasize women & Primary Health Care services. It has been estimated that 30% of the patients attending the RTV clinics are healthy patients & most of them are women. The strict observance of purdah denies women freedom of movement & curtails meaningful daily work activities. For many women a visit to the clinic is about the only acceptable outing providing a little socializing & gossiping with women outside the family. Visits to the clinics also lighten the spirits & heighten the sense of being & self-respect for those women who find too close living conditions in the RTVs exacerbate status struggles, petty frictions & personality clashes. The harassed professionals in charge of the RTV medical teams become understandably irritated with the hordes of healthy patients who steal them away from ministering to the seriously ill. The medical staff worries about the dangerous consequences of the rapidly developing tendency of the refugee population to acquire a dependency on medical drugs.

To offset these negative developments, assistance personnel now search for positive programs which will capitalize on the unique opportunity these mass gatherings present for the initiation of formal & non-formal education programs. Particular emphasis is being placed on the organization of Mother-Child Health clinics. The birth rate in the RTVs is extremely high because men & women express an intense psychological need to replace the fallen heroes of the battlefield. The expansion of formal & non-formal programs will also stem the spread of another demoralizing syndrome which threatens to engulf the entire refugee community. A people long lauded for their self-reliance now find themselves forced to depend on hand-outs in order to survive. Such dependency is insidious, and, because it can so easily become an attitudinal habit, it jeopardizes the very essence of Afghan culture. (See p. 14 )

To counter this, a \$20 million World Bank project was designed to provide income-generating projects for men. Part of an \$11 million ILO project will address the need to provide services to enable women to fulfill their basic needs by identifying natural leaders & providing training in such fields as literacy, crafts, kitchen gardening, poultry, sericulture & health maintenance. A commitment to deal with the special needs of women has been made. Hopefully the programs will be integrated, combining education, psycho-health & income-generation, within the Afghan sociocultural milieu.



## Urban Refugee Women

There are several thousand Afghan women who do not qualify for even the admittedly tenuous hopes & plans for the women living in the RTVs. Typically, urban, educated, middle & upper class families elect not to take up residence in the RTVs. In making this choice they forfeit the right to receive rations & other assistance automatically extended to those who register officially in the RTVs.

The future of young women from these families is cruelly bleak. In pre-coup Afghanistan they had taken a high school education for granted & looked forward to a wide variety of career opportunities. These young women now face the ire of ultra-conservative religious vigilantes who seek to curtail the activities of women outside the home. Riding around Peshawar in motorcycle rickshaws, hurling insults at women so bold as to shop by themselves, slipping poison-pen billet-doux under doors informing heads of households that their wives & daughters were seen whoring in the streets, & creating violent havoc at places where Afghan women professionals work in refugee-related programs, these self-appointed protectors of Afghan female honor have paralyzed many urban refugee families. As a result, urban girls brought up to believe it was their duty to contribute to society, in all its multi-faceted aspects, find that now they are not only denied the facilities to complete their educations, but they are also deprived of opportunities to participate in activities outside the home. In addition, because of the precarious financial straits most of these families find themselves in, compounded by the uncertainties of the future, the urban refugees are hesitant to enter into marriage contracts. Girls of marriageable age are, therefore, often doubly penalized. There are, of course, notable & remarkable women who refuse to be cowed & fathers who, for the sake of their daughters' futures, endure insults to their honor. Significantly, out of 107 UNHCR college scholarships awarded for the 1983-84 school year, 31 were awarded to women; 7 were in the field of medicine. Most potential female contributors to Afghanistan's future, however, sit at home; an urgent challenge for assistance planners.

## Widows

Hardly a single family in Afghanistan has been spared the loss of one, or more often, many members. Afghanistan's culture & turbulent history has condemned generation upon generation of women to early widowhood. Never in its history, however, have the losses approached the magnitude of the current crisis. The tragedy of widowhood is compounded for many women by simultaneous multiple losses: husbands, sons, grandsons, brothers, fathers & cousins can be eliminated on one fatal action. A single household can be deprived suddenly of three generations of male providers, burdening survivors with untold economic & mental hardship.

For the most part widows bear their sorrow with dignity. They console themselves with the knowledge that their husbands fell honorably and they stand proud in the aura of respect traditionally accorded heroes who fall fighting for the homeland. There are also tens of thousands of women whose husbands have disappeared in the dungeons of Afghanistan's prisons. "Am I a widow?" one young woman asked. "It would be such a relief to know for sure." The dictates of Islam & Afghan cultural practices in general afford protection & overall well-being to these women, as well as to widows & orphans. The family has always been the most important socio-economic institution in Afghan society, providing services guaranteed by recognized family obligations such as welfare & the care & protection of the very young, the very old, the handicapped & widows. The current crisis has strengthened the role of the family.

The vulnerability of young widows in the unfamiliar refugee milieu has enhanced the practice of the leverite, a pre-Islamic custom, in which a widow is married, with or without her consent, to a member of her deceased husband's family, preferably a brother even though he may be many years younger. The leverite is explicitly forbidden in the Koran (Sura 4, verse 19), but it was practiced among the Pushtun in pre-coup Afghanistan when it served to consolidate wealth & family solidarity. In the refugee situation it also stabilizes family identification, political alignment & economic viability.

The strengthening of family cohesiveness has provided succor for Afghan refugee women in general, and widows in particular. Most female refugees in Pakistan would be sorely pressed to maintain any sort of dignified existence without the support provided by traditional Afghan family values. As in all social interactions, there are aberrations. Hostile relationships between women in the household which might have been merely regrettable in the past, can now threaten a widow's existence. There is no conduit through which widows may apply for redress of discriminatory practices. Lone women are completely dependent on male family members to collect & equitably distribute rations.

In response to this problem, the Commissioner for Afghan Refugees/NWFP established a separate camp for widows on the eastern edge of the Nasir Bagh RTV, on the outskirts of Peshawar. Much controversy shrouded its establishment. The Pakistani authorities insist that the approximately 400 women had asked to be separated from male and/or female kin who were mistreating them. Many of the widows vehemently refute this & complain of being victimized by unscrupulous RTV headmen (Afghan) & administrators (Pakistani). The aura of panic is less palatable today than it was a year & a half ago. Perhaps this is due to the passage of time, resignation or stoicism. Or it may stem from a shrewd appreciation of the economic advantages accrued from the privileged status. Donations of cloth, clothing, food & other items too limited for general distribution are most often diverted to the widow's camp.

No matter. Months, years of segregation from their extended families will certainly erode the delicate network of traditional rights & obligations which would normally govern their welfare. Now that they are entirely dependent on outsiders, the withdrawal of what all parties insist is "temporary" assistance will be particularly traumatic for this vulnerable group unless they are offered opportunities to become self-reliant.

Nancy Hatch Dupree  
Stony Point, NY



*A strong attitude prevails against secular education of girls.*

REFUGEES 2/84

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HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME FOR AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN. Excerpts from this pamphlet published by the Chief Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees, Gov't. of Pakistan, follow:

### The Problem

A small number (around 1500) of political dissidents had been forced to flee Afghanistan as early as 1973, when Sardar Daud overthrew King Zahir Shah; but the refugee influx of consequence actually started with the coup of Nur Mohammad Taraki in April, 1978 with approx. 109,000 Afghans seeking asylum in Pakistan. When in September, 1979, Taraki's Government too was overthrown by his Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin, belonging to the rival Parcham faction, the number suddenly almost doubled to 193,000.

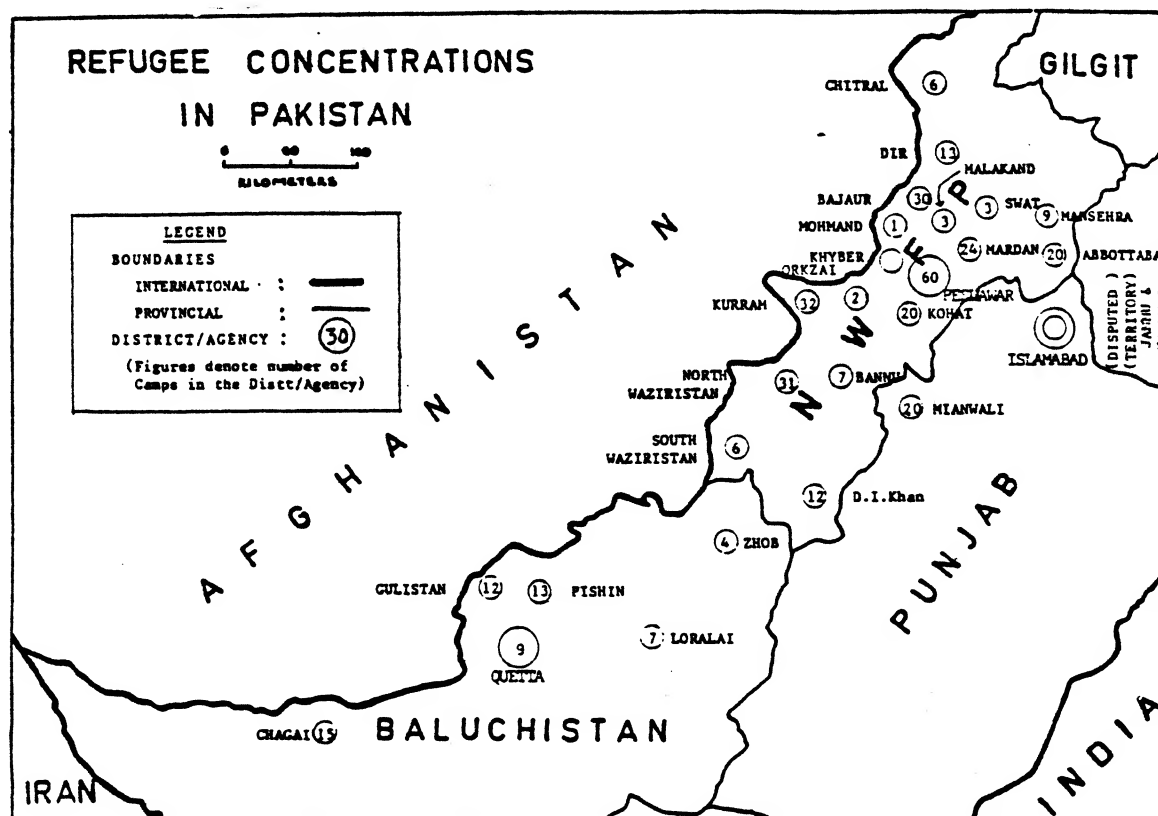
The situation changed radically with the direct foreign armed intervention on 26 December 1979, which installed the regime of Babrak Karmal. Within a few days of the invasion, the refugee figure soared to what appeared at the time the staggering total of almost 400,000. The exodus has continued unabated ever since, the one million mark being reached in the middle of 1980 and the second million about a year thereafter. The figure at the end of June, 1983 stands at more than 3 million human beings; and with them, across mountain gorge and valley, have also trekked 3 million head of livestock.

### Pakistan plays Host

For nearly two years — from April 1978 to January 1980 — the Government and people of Pakistan bore the burden of refugee care practically single handed. Taking note of the serious situation, the UNHCR and WFP came in with their emergency programmes of assistance starting in January 1980, to be joined later, by other UN agencies. The relief operations have received additional impetus through contributions from a number of friendly countries and international voluntary agencies.

The refugees are generally lodged in some 350 Refugee Tentage Villages (RTVs) — (so named to indicate the freedom of movement enjoyed by them) — scattered in the 24 border Districts and Agencies of the Frontier and Baluchistan provinces and Mianwali District of the Punjab. On the average, the ratio of refugee population to the locals in the NWFP and Baluchistan is one to six/seven, in some high density areas even 1 to 1.

Among the refugees are tribes from far and wide, — the Pushtoons, the Persian-speaking Hazaras, the Turkic origin Turkomans, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Nooristanis and others.



## Relief Assistance

Upto January 1980, relief assistance to refugees consisted mainly of cash subsidy of Rs. 120/- (US\$ 12) per head per month and some ready shelter in the form of tents – all from Pakistan's own resources. With the involvement of UNHCR and WFP and some private voluntary organisations in January 1980, the cash subsidy was reduced in inverse proportion to the quantum of commodity aid provided instead from these non-governmental sources.

Thus today, the cash maintenance allowance paid by the Government stands reduced to Rs. 50/- (US\$ 4) per head per month subject to the upper maximum ceiling of Rs. 350/(US\$ 28) per family, while commodity aid to the extent of essential basic necessities at subsistence level is provided as under:—

### *Shelter:*

A tent per family and/or some construction material for mud huts which are gradually replacing tents for protection against extreme climatic conditions.

### *Food:*

Basic daily food rations per refugee comprising wheat (500 grams), edible oil and powder milk (30 grams each), sugar (20 grams), and tea (3 grams) and some supplementary high protein diet for vulnerable groups, providing a daily average caloric value of over 2200 calories per head per day.

### *Clothing:*

A pair of clothing and footwear, and a blanket or quilt per individual – one set per year.

### *Cooking Utensils & Fuel:*

A set of essential items of hard crockery, pots and pans, cooking stoves and kerosene oil (20 litres per month) for each family.

### *Drinking Water:*

Clean drinking water at 25 litres per day per head (water in some refugee habitats is hard to come by).

In addition, following essential services are provided on community basis in all Refugee Camps:

### *Health Services:*

A properly staffed and well stocked medical dispensary for curative treatment supplemented by Basic Health and Sanitation units for preventive measures against Malaria, TB Control and EPI programmes. Some specialist units like orthopaedic and artificial limb centres, mother and child care centres are also provided.

### *Educational Facilities:*

Primary schools for male and female students, in each camp – and now some middle and high schools in some of the camps' stipends and scholarships for advanced technical and professional institutions in Pakistan and abroad for deserving students.

## Vocational/Self-Reliance Schemes:

Carpet weaving and embroidery centres in selected Camps, and Centres for other popular traditional skills and crafts.

## Agriculture and Livestock:

Facilities for kitchen gardens to refugee families, irrigation and reafforestation schemes for damage control employing refugee labour, and mobile veterinary clinics for the care of livestock.

### RELIEF ASSISTANCE

CASH	RS. 50/- PER HEAD PER MONTH (MAXIMUM RS. 350/- PER FAMILY)
SHELTER	ONE TENT PER FAMILY. CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL FOR MUD HUTS.
FOOD (GRAMS PER HEAD)	WHEAT (500): POWDER MILK (30): EDIBLE OIL (30): SUGAR (20): TEA (3)
HOUSEHOLD ITEMS	CLOTHING, FOOTWEAR, BLANKETS, QUILTS, COOKING UTENSILS, CROCKERY, KEROSENE OIL WITH STOVES
WATER	MINIMUM OF 25 LITRES PER HEAD PER DAY
MEDICAL	ONE FREE DISPENSARY PER CAMP: SPECIAL UNITS AS AVAILABLE
VETERINARY	MOBILE UNITS WHERE NECESSARY
EDUCATION	ONE PRIMARY SCHOOL PER CAMP: MIDDLE/HIGH SCHOOLS AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES IN SELECTED CAMPS

### SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL OUTLAY FOR UPKEEP OF 3 MILLION REFUGEES DURING YEAR 1983 – 84

#### GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

	(IN US \$)
CASH ALLOWANCE	139 MILLION
INLAND TRANSPORTATION	72 MILLION

#### EXTERNAL SOURCES

UNHCR PROGRAMMES	95 MILLION
WFP ASSISTANCE (WHEAT, E/OIL, POWDER MILK)	135 MILLION

TOTAL: 441 MILLION

#### SHARED BETWEEN

PAKISTAN: 48%, EXTERNAL SOURCES: 52%

EXCLUDING US\$ 20 MILLION TO BE ADMINISTERED BY WORLD BANK.

### AVERAGE PER CAPITA MONTHLY EXPENDITURE

CASH ALLOWANCE	—	RS 50
FOOD BASKET	—	RS 70
OTHER RELIEF ASSISTANCE (DIRECT OR INDIRECT)	—	RS 30

TOTAL: RS 150

(OR US\$ 12.00 PER HEAD PER MONTH)

From the editor...

At its annual meeting in January, the Board of Directors of the Afghanistan Forum decided, once again, to change the name of this publication. Henceforth it will be known as the Afghanistan Forum. Why, you ask, is this necessary? Well, we don't have enough institutional & library subscriptions and the feeling is that "newsletter" indicates something ephemeral - not worthy of a shelf-life. Now we all know that if anything deserves to be on a shelf it is this publication, so we urge you to recommend taking out a subscription to your local library, university - or other institution.

It was also decided that the Afghanistan Forum would, beginning in 1985, be issued bi-monthly - six issues instead of four - appearing in January, March, May, July, September & November. Naturally, the subscription price will be elevated: \$20 for individuals; \$30 for institutions. (We shall not make a profit at those prices but we shall stay afloat.) Occasional Papers will be reborn; there will be at least one per year & subscribers will have the option of no Occasional Papers at the above prices or one OP for the subscription price of \$25 (individual) & \$35 (institutional). (The price of OPs to non-subscribers will be indecent.)

The Board also decided to make available, for a limited time, back issues of the Newsletter. (We have a complete set of "ephemera" dating back to 1968.) A list with a very brief description of the contents of back issues will be issued with the June issue of the Forum. The prices will be high as we have to copy the file copies commercially and in small numbers; this is frightfully expensive. But we are offering this invaluable material to researchers, authors, librarians and compulsive full-set gatherers as a public service.

Having been raised with the ideal that money is something that you should have enough of so you won't have to discuss it, your editor regrets that the Forum is not in that position. We depend on our readers for clippings, news, articles, book reviews, etc. Happy Nawroz.

Mary Ann Siegfried  
Editor & Typist

Len Oppenheim  
Treasurer

#### EVENTS - Past, Present & Future

Arline Lederman will speak on Afghan Textile Arts for the New York Rug Society on March 22 in New York City.

A poetry reading sponsored by the Human Rights in Afghanistan Committee will be held at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago on March 21 at 8 p.m.

Nake Kamrany spoke on The Case of Afghanistan in Stages in the Sovietization of the LDCs at a conference on major int'l economic issues at the University of Southern California on January 6.

Louis Dupree spoke on Ethnic Problems in the Afghan Resistance - 1983 on March 6 at Columbia University for the Center for the Study of Central Asia.

On April 26, Olivier Roy will speak at Columbia University on the Internal Resistance. The program is sponsored by the Inst. of War & Peace Studies and the Middle East Studies Dept. The program will be at 12:30 on the 11th floor of the Int'l Affairs Building.

The Soviets in Afghanistan will be one of the topics of a conference sponsored by the French Inst. of Polemologie in Paris on April 4 & 5.

Former Ambassador Neumann will chair a conference on Soviet Foreign Policy sponsored by the Kennan Institute & USIA on March 15. Zalmay Khalilzad will present one of the papers at the Washington meeting.

NEWSWEEK reportedly will publish an in-depth article on Islamic Fundamentalism in Afghanistan. Claude Malhuret's article in the winter FOREIGN AFFAIRS will be reprinted in the READERS' DIGEST sometime in the near future.

Philippe Augoyard, Pascal Mathey & Laurence Laumonier, doctors from Aide Medicale Internationale, spoke at Columbia Univ. on 2/2. Drs. Mathey & Laumonier spoke at the Wilson Center at Princeton University on 2/7 on "French Medical Assistance Inside Soviet-Occupied Afghanistan." The group also appeared on the MacNeil/Lehrer Report on 1/31.

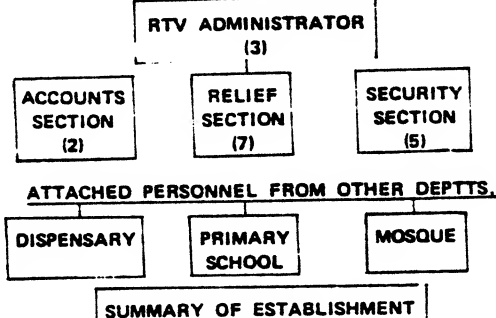
## The Bill

On the basis of assistance from the UN Agencies, mainly UNHCR and WFP, and the commitment and projections of the Government of Pakistan in connection with the maintenance allowance and inland transportation costs, the overall DAILY expenditure on the upkeep of 3 million refugees during 1983 is estimated to cost US\$ 1.2 million, (or approx. US\$ 441 million for the entire YEAR), of which about 48% will be met from Pakistan's own meagre resources. The bill — huge on the face of it, provides no more than US\$ 12 per head per month including the cash maintenance allowance.

### BREAKDOWN OF POPULATION AS ON JULY 1983

	Total	Men	Women	Children	Families
NWFP	2,077,748	508,486	576,123	983,139	294,624
Baluchistan	698,709	162,876	176,807	359,026	116,106
Punjab (Isa Khot)	44,028	8574	9,721	25,733	7,475
TOTAL	2,820,485	679,936	762,651	1,377,898	418,201

### ORGANIZATION OF AN RTV (UPTO 10,000 REFUGEES)



PERSONNEL — 17 (EXCLUDING ATTACHED DEPTTS.)  
MOTOR CYCLE — 1

## Administrative Structure

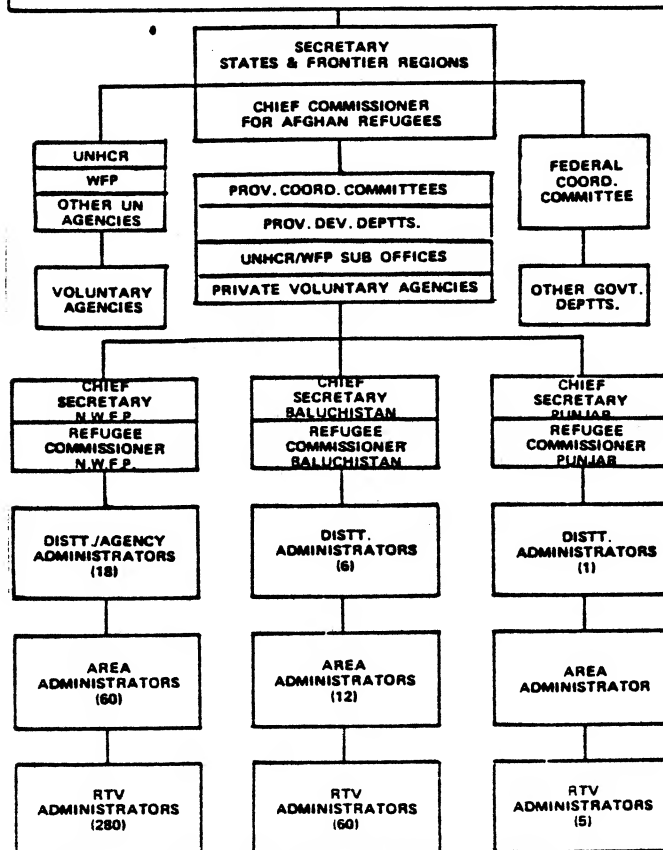
With the ever increasing influx, the administration of refugees has assumed complex proportions. For purposes of administration, the basic unit (i.e. an RTV) comprising upto 10,000 individuals or about 1500 refugee families, is administered by an RTV Administrator, with Assistants for cash disbursement and distribution of food and other relief items.

Upward of the RTVx, there are Area Administrators over every 5 RTVs, and District/Agency Administrators for overall coordination of refugee management at each District/Agency level.

Each province has a Provincial Refugee Commissioner with supporting staff under the Provincial Home Department whereas there is a Chief Commissioner at Islamabad for coordinating relief assistance work under the States and Frontier Regions Division which holds charge of Afghan refugee matters at the Federal Government level.

Proper distribution of relief aid and accountability is ensured through an elaborate system of documentation, periodic reports and returns and inspections.

## ORGANIZATION FOR REFUGEE MANAGEMENT IN PAKISTAN



Note:— Figures in brackets denote No. of personnel in each Section.

- DUTIES
- Distribution of relief assistance/cash allowance.
  - Maintenance of records and submission of reports and returns.
  - Registration.

## REFUGEE INFLUX AT A GLANCE

DATE/EVENT	NUMBERS
1. JULY, 1973 (SARDAR DAUD OVERTHROWS MONARCHY)	A FEW HUNDRED ONLY
2. APRIL, 1978 (NUR MOHAMMAD TARAKI OVERTHROWS DAUD)	109,900
3. SEPTEMBER, 1979 (HAFEEZULLAH AMIN OVERTHROWS TARAKI)	193,000
4. DECEMBER, 1979 (BABRAK KARMAL INSTALLED)	402,100
5. JULY, 1980	OVER 1 MILLION
6. MAY, 1981	OVER 2 MILLION
7. JANUARY, 1982	OVER 2.5 MILLION
8. DECEMBER, 1982	OVER 2.8 MILLION
9. MAY, 1983	OVER 2.8 MILLION

## THE AFGHAN KIRGHIZ IN TURKEY

On 3 August 1978 the Kirghiz of the Little Pamir met in council and decided that the time to leave had come. Ominous news had arrived that their leaders were about to be arrested. They had already encountered Soviet soldiers; the leftist government in Kabul was hostile.

For five days this band of 1,085 men, women and children, together with their yaks, horses and sheep, endured harsh terrain and inclement weather while they pushed through the remote, rugged mountains of northeastern Afghanistan and northern Pakistan. Adding to their distress, a battle with 40 Soviet horsemen claimed the lives of four men.

In Pakistan the Kirghiz were settled in four main areas across the Northern Territories, from Chitral in the west to the center of Gilgit, the major town of the north. Adjustment to the new environment was significantly more difficult for the Kirghiz than it was for refugees from other tribal groups. The Pushtun, for instance, moved into areas inhabited by kindred peoples speaking the same language and following similar social codes. The Kirghiz had to contend with a totally foreign language and religious conservatism which imposed strict seclusion on the Kirghiz women who were used to working freely with their menfolk. Although most of the inhabited areas of the Northern Territories sit around and over 5,000 feet, the heat sapped the energy of these people used to the cold climate of their native mountain ranges 12-15,000 feet high. This made them highly susceptible to newly encountered diseases such as malaria, hepatitis and intestinal disorders. Many weakened; some died. But also - others were born.

The plight of the Turkic-speaking refugees, including the Kirghiz, was brought to the attention of the Turkish Government and plans for resettlement were begun. The Turks have been traditionally generous in offering succor to refugees. Thus, between 5-25 August 1982, four years to the month since the Kirghiz made their fateful decision to leave their homeland, a 13-flight airlift of 4,351 Turkic-speaking Afghan refugees left Pakistan. Among them were 1,130 Kirghiz.

The leader, or Khan, of the Kirghiz, Haji Rahman Qul, and 197 families (776 individuals) travelled to Van in eastern Turkey where they were met with great fanfare by the Vali (Governor). They were then escorted to the village of Karagunduz, on the eastern shore of Ercek Golu, a small lake east of the grand Lake Van. Here they took up residence in rows of cement-block houses built as temporary housing for the survivors of a disastrous earthquake in 1976. The Turkish Government had expended considerable effort in making these houses liveable. In addition, each family was given clothing and shoes, bedding, quilts and floor coverings, a houseful of furniture, a gas stove for cooking, kitchen utensils and a wood stove to heat the house, along with two tons of wood and two tons of coal.

The rest of the Kirghiz, because there was not enough housing at Karagunduz for them all, were given the same amenities when they settled temporarily at Malatya, a large city some 582 kms. west of Van. This group maintains regular communication with the Khan at Karagunduz.

Next fall both groups should be brought together in Altintepe, a well-watered, U-shaped valley with excellent grazing-cum-farming potential. It sits to the north of Lake Van, some 80 kms. from the city of Van. Here just under 15,000 acres of rolling hills have been set aside for the permanent home of the Afghan Kirghiz. When they move, each family will be presented with 50 sheep, 2 cows and one bull to start new herds. The amount of land designated for Kirghiz use is just enough to support the 14,850 sheep which will be brought for grazing. As herds increase, more land will be needed. The land is there and it is expected that the Turkish authorities are preparing for new developments.

A low area near a river has been set aside for farming and it will be interesting to see how these high-altitude nomadic herdsmen take to farming. Some try to develop green thumbs by tending kitchen gardens at Karagunduz, but only a few flourish.

In late June 1983 construction began on an ambitious housing project in the center of Altintepe. With 150 workers on the job, progress has been impressive, permitting the optimistic October 1984 target date for the great move.

The complex consists of 353 two-storied units in staggered blocks of four semi-attached family apartments. The upper floor of each fully electrified living unit covers 93.4 sq. meters and is comprised of a sitting room, three bedrooms, a bath/toilet with modern flush plumbing and a kitchen. The ground floor is designed to accommodate the family's animals. Altogether, each unit contains 187 sq. meters of space, considerably more than the 46 sq. meters they occupy in Karagunduz. It is also more spacious than the average 60 sq. meters commonly occupied by Turkish government officials in the Van area, including those engineers in charge of the Altintepe construction.

In between the block units there are spacious open areas. A mosque, school with play ground, clinic and shopping areas are also provided. The Turks are being extremely generous. It is tempting to some, nevertheless, to look away from this burgeoning modern complex to the surrounding high grassy peaks sprinkled with knolls so ideally suited for yurts, the traditional housing of the Kirghiz. The Turkish authorities, however, because they view yurts as anti-modern tribal symbols, shake their heads.

Other than Haji Rahman Qul, not one of the Kirghiz has yet seen Altintepe and therefore they have no idea what is in store for them. The Khan keeps an intent watch on building in progress for the interim waiting is frustrating for his people. The Van area looks very much like the area between Pul-i-Khumri and Kunduz, with superb pasturage across which large herds graze. The Kirghiz herdsmen watch them, impatiently longing to be off to the hills with their own flocks. Seasonal agriculture offers a few jobs, but not many. Younger adults look to a different future. Twenty boys have taken courses in tractor driving. In the Van area all grains and fodder are harvested by tractors. It has also been earnestly suggested that some might profit from training as electricians and plumbers so that they may maintain all that novel indoor plumbing and electricity they will encounter for the first time in Altintepe.

Six teenagers who took advantage of educational opportunities in Pakistan passed entrance exams in Van and received high school scholarships. Dressed in crisp sports shirts and cords or fitted jeans, they stand out noticeably. They are well on their way toward identifying fully with their new-found home. At a 2-room school house in Karagunduz about 160 students study in 5 grades. Classes are co-educational but the number of girls dwindles to nil by grade 5.

Some women work in a small carpet weaving shop set up in Karagunduz but none are overly enthusiastic because the looms are vertical, whereas the Kirghiz used horizontal looms in Afghanistan. Also, the Turkish instructor uses Turkish designs while the Kirghiz naturally prefer their own.

The women, therefore, spend most of their time in traditional chores, keeping house and tending children. These children radiate healthiness and are true auguries of a prosperous future for the Kirghiz. There has been a minor population explosion. In the year between mid-August 1982, when they arrived, and mid-August 1983, the Kirghiz population in Turkey increased by 80. The Turkish authorities have stepped up their control programs but to little avail. For a group threatened like the Kirghiz, growth symbolizes the determination to survive.

Kirghiz women move about freely in Turkey where seclusion and the wearing of veils is officially frowned upon. Now they can laugh about the life they led "in cages" in Pakistan. Their descriptions are full of amusing gestures and details. Unlike

Cont. on p.27



# ORGANIZATIONS

## SOLIDARITY AFGHANISTAN

110, rue de Vennes

4020 Liege, Belgium

Dr. Alain-Pierre Lilot, President

Solidarity Afghanistan was founded about two years ago to inform the public & the Belgian authorities about the situation in Afghanistan, to cooperate with other European organizations & to send humanitarian aid to Afghans. Much of the aid has so far gone to Maaz-I-Milli & to Jamiat-Islami but supplies have also been given to Aide Medicale Int'l for operations in Logar, the Panjshir & Takhar. Solidarity Afghanistan is now working with SOS PG Liege II (one of 70 groups which form SOS PG, a European organization whose purpose is direct aid for development) on an educational project for Afghan refugees. Solidarity Afghanistan is closely allied with AFRANE (Amitie Franco-Afghane) & co-operates in producing the bi-monthly LES NOUVELLES d'AFGHANISTAN from which this information was taken. For further information on the educational project, write to Dr. Lilot at the above address.

## SWEDISH COMMITTEE

15A Gul Mohar Lane

University Town

Peshawar, Pakistan

Tel: 41247

"Don't lie to the Swedish Committee" is the current Peshawar scuttlebutt among Afghans, according to Anders Fänge who runs the Committee's Peshawar office. Much of his time is spent vetting the claims of Afghans who profess to be doctors; to establish that they are, indeed, legitimate medical practitioners who can be sent into Afghanistan to serve at one of the Committee's 10 clinics.

"We also make sure that good coordination exists between resistance groups before we set up a clinic in the area," said Mr. Fänge during a chat at the Forum's quarters in New York City. The Committee's Peshawar office was established in December, 1982 & Mr. Fänge, whose career as a journalist brought him to Afghanistan, has been its director from the start. The Committee currently operates 10 clinics in Afghanistan and will open 5 more by the end of the summer in the northern provinces. The clinics are staffed by Afghan medical

personnel & each has a doctor, 1 nurse or pharmacist & 2 paramedics. Each doctor is required to sign a contract stating that he will treat everyone regardless of party organization. All information is checked & cross-checked to ensure that the Committee's standards are maintained. With an annual budget of about \$1.2m (of which a good half comes from the Swedish Gov't through the Swedish Int'l Development Assn.), the Committee pays each doctor 3,000 Pakistani rupees per month; the nurse or pharmacist 1,500 rupees per month & the paramedics 1,000 rupees per month. Private donations are welcomed and can be sent to the Committee at the above address.

## AFGHAN REFUGEE INFORMATION NETWORK (ARIN)

75 Haldon Road

London SW18 1GF

Great Britain

Elizabeth Winter, Chairperson.

ARIN was formed in 1980 to assist with relief efforts for Afghan refugees and to provide information on the refugee situation. Its quarterly Newsletter reports on relief activities, health care programs; gives a news update and costs \$3.50 per year in the US. ARIN also sells hand-knitted wooly hats made by the Hazara in brown & white natural sheep wool.

ARIN works with other British organizations including the Afghanistan Support Committee, 18 Charing Cross Road, London WC2, and the Society of Afghans Residing in the UK, %Eden Park Hotel, 37 Inverness Terrace, London W2 3JL.

## DIGNITY OF MAN FOUNDATION

Refugee Assistance Program Afghanistan

P.O. Box 4344

Walnut Creek, CA 94596

(415) 932-0146

Richard W. Smith

"The people & country of Afghanistan played an important part in the development of the Dignity of Man Fda. It was in Afghanistan where Christiane & Dick Smith made the first DOMF documentary film which was subsequently used in hundreds of educational & public programs. It was from the Afghan people that they learned much about the meaning of dignity." The DOMF assists Afghans with food, money & other supplies.

# RECENT PUBLICATIONS

BRITAIN AND AFGHANISTAN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE by Cyriac Maprayil, Graz, Graphic, 1983.

LA CITÉ DES MURMURES by Jean-Christophe Victor, Paris, J.-C. Lattès. 340 pp. Victor, a former French cultural attache in Kabul, gives his observations on events in Afghanistan.

MES ENFANTS DE KABOUL by Serge de Beaurecueil, Paris, editions J.-C. Lattès. 200 pp. The author, a Dominican priest, served in Kabul from 1963 to 1983.

TRADITION AND DYNAMISM AMONG AFGHAN REFUGEES. A 174-page report issued by the UNHCR.

RED FLAG OVER AFGHANISTAN, the Communist Coup, the Soviet Invasion & the Consequences, by Thomas Hammond, Boulder, Westview Press, 1984. 262 pp., app. (the Constitution of the PDPA), biblio., index.

LETTRES SOVIÉTIQUES #295, 1983 has an article by Alexandre Prokhanov giving the Soviet point of view on the Afghan situation in early 1980.

LE MONDE of July 17-18, 1983 carried an article by Mike Barry on the 10 years since the overthrow of the monarchy in Kabul.

ETUDES POLÉMOLOGIQUES, # 27, 1983, contained a 33-page article by Gérard Viguié entitled "Afghanistan, le poids du réel."

LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, September 1983, had two articles on Afghanistan. Lawrence Lifschultz wrote on "Will the Soviet Union withdraw its troops?" and Konrad Ege wrote "Kaboul aux prises avec ses rebelles."

LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE carried four articles in October & November by Ghislaine Bellorget who accompanied a Médecins du Monde group in the Wardak-Maidan region.

ADVENTURE AU XX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE, #21, November 1983, the magazine of the European Guild du Raid, was devoted to the 1st International Forum (held in October) on Voluntary Cooperation which included European organizations concerned with Afghanistan.

AFGHANISTAN'S UNCERTAIN FUTURE by Perala Ratnam. Tulsi Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981. 100 pp. \$17.95. (Distributed by Asia Book Corp. of America, 94-41 218th Street, Queens Village, NY 11428.)

BEHIND RUSSIAN LINES: AN AFGHAN JOURNAL by Sandy Gall, London, Sidgwick & Jackson, 1983. 194 pp.

A HITCH OR TWO IN AFGHANISTAN: A JOURNEY BEHIND RUSSIAN LINES by Nigel Ryan, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1983. 210 pp.

"The Faraway War" by Edward Mortimer in THE NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS, Vol. XXX, No. 20, December 22, 1983. A long review article of books on Afghanistan by Gerard Chaliand, Jere Van Dyk, Nigel Ryan, Sandy Gall, Henry Bradsher & Thomas Hammond.

"Four Years in Purgatory" by William E. Smith in TIME, January 9. (Page 37.)

The Winter issue of RELIGION IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, published by Keston College in Great Britain, will have an article on "Islam & Afghan Resistance by Olivier Roy.

Olivier Roy will have an article on "Sufism in the Afghan Resistance" in the January 1984 issue of CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY (also published in Gt. Britain).

Articles appearing in the 1982 issue of FOLK (Vol. 24) include the following: "Contexts & Uses of Marriage in Afghan Society" by Asger Christensen; "Cousin Marriage in Context: Constructing Social Relations in Afghanistan" by Jon Anderson; "Agnates, Affines & Allies: Patterns of Marriage among Pakhtun in Kunar, North Afghanistan" by Asger Christensen; "The Imami Sayyed of the Hazarajat: The Maintenance of their Elite Position" by Lucas-Michael Kopecky; "Marriage Norms & Practices in a Rural Community in North Afghanistan" by Asta Olesen; "Marriage & Groupings among the Pashai" by Jan Ovesen; and "Marriage Preferences & Ethnic Relations among Durrani Pashtuns of Afghan Turkestan" by Nancy & Richard Tapper. (FOLK is published with the support of the Danish Ministry of Cultural Affairs & the Danish Research Council for the Humanities.)

THE CONFLICT OF TRIBE AND STATE IN IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN, edited by Richard Tapper, 1983, Beckenham (Kent), Croom Helm Ltd. The book is based on papers presented at a conference held at the School of Oriental & African Studies, London, in July 1979. Contributors are Richard Tapper, Rob Hager (on State, Tribe & Empire in Afghan Inter-Political Relations); Jon W. Anderson (on Khan and Khel: Dialectics of Pakhtun Tribalism); Malcolm Yapp (on Tribes & States in the Khyber, 1838-42); Akbar S. Ahmed (on Tribes & States in Waziristan); Bernt Glatzer (on Political Organization of Pashtun Nomads); Nancy Tapper (on Abd Al-Rahman's North-West Frontier: The Pashtun Colonialization of Afghan Turkistan); and Philip Carl Salzman (on Why Tribes Have Chiefs: A Case from Baluchistan).

"Tribal Guerrilla Warfare against a Colonial Power: Analyzing the war in Afghanistan" by Pierre Allan & Albert A. Stahel in JOURNAL OF CONFLICT, Vol. 27, No. 4, December 1983. Eden Naby calls this an excellent article formulated to prove mathematically that improved weapons to the guerrillas (such as anti-helicopter weapons) could mean the reduced mobility of Soviet forces & a better bargaining position (or win) for the guerrillas.

The LETTER OF THE BIA carried a complete report of the Oslo Conference in its June 1983 issue (No. 6).

The October/November issue of LES NOUVELLES d'AFGHANISTAN lists the following articles from the French press: A 6-page article by Yves Heller in L'EXPRESS of 22 & 28 July, 1983; An article by Pierre Issot-Sergent in LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR of 10 June on the situation in Panjshir; An article in LE POINT of 13 June by Ulysse Gosset on his visit in Kabul; 5 articles by René Mauriès on his Kabul stay in LA DÉPÊCHE DU MIDI of June 27 & 1 July; Photographic reportage by François Luizet in FRANCE SOIR MAGAZINE of July 2; A interview of Soviet prisoners by a Lithuanian journalist in LIBÉRATION, July 5; Three articles by Philippe Flandrin in LE MATIN of 5 and 7 July; Photos & commentary by Reza Daghaei

Philippe Flandrin & Goskim Aral in PARIS MATCH on July 8 & 15.

THE SOVIET UNION & AFGHANISTAN, Bibliography #2 of the Institute of Soviet & East European Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. 1984. Lists 400 titles; not annotated. \$6.00 The Institute plans to issue a supplement next January.

"Tribal Warfare in Afghanistan & Pakistan: A Reflection of the Segmentary Lineage System" by Louis Dupree in ISLAM IN TRIBAL SOCIETIES, Akbar Ahmed & David Hart (eds.), Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1984.

"From Whence Cometh Pasta?" by Louis Dupree in ETHNOLOGIE UND GESCHICHTE: Festschr. für Karl Jettmar/hrsg. von Peter Snoy. Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1983.

Louis Dupree has a chapter on the Afghan Press in NEWSPAPERS IN ASIA: CONTEMPORARY TRENDS AND PROBLEMS, John Lent, (ed.), HK, Heinemann Asia, 1982.

"Traveling the Afghan Archipelago" by Matthew Stevenson in THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR, February, 1984.

BACKGROUND BRIEFING ON AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S CONCERNS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN, October 1983. Amnesty Int'l USA, 304 West 58th Street, New York, NY 10019. 12 pp., + appendices. \$3.00

AFGHANISTAN TODAY compiled by Doctor Khaidar Mas'ud (DRA) & Andrei Sakharov (USSR); [sic] text by Makhmud Bar'yalai (DRA) & Genrikh Polyakov (USSR), translated by Natalia Shevyrina, Planeta Publishers, 1983. (Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, IL 60610 has this paeen with pictures of the revolution's progress for \$20.)

DOSSIER EUROPA, edited by Carlo Ripa di Meana, issued a special issue on Afghanistan (in English) in February 1984. It is available from the Comitato Int'l. Solidariati Resistance Afghan. Via Tomacelli, 146, I-00186 Roma, Italy, for 2000 lira.

PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, Jan/Feb 1984, is devoted to "Moscow's Double Track." An article on the Soviet dilemma in Islamic Iran by Zalmay Khalilzad in the issue has a section on Afghanistan.

## DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ON ASIA,

vol.6, nos.1 & 2 (Winter/Summer 1983)

### AFGHANISTAN

CHAMPAGNE, David Charles.

*The Afghan-Iranian Conflict over Herat Province and European Intervention 1796-1863: A Reinterpretation.* Texas (Austin), 1981 (Ph.D.). 547p.  
DAI 42, no.7 (Jan. 1982): 3257-A; UM 8128608.

CONNELL, Frances Garrett.

*The Authoring of Selves: Literacy, and Its Indigenous Forms in a Traditional Afghan Town.* Columbia (Teachers College), 1982 (Ed.D.). 731p.  
DAI 43, no.3 (Sept. 1982): 854-A; UM 8215724.  
Deals with the village of Tashqurghan.

JACKMAN, Lesley Margaret.

*Afghanistan in British Imperial Strategy and Diplomacy, 1919-1941.* Cambridge, 1980 (Ph.D. in History). 263p. Copies available through the British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa, Yorkshire, shelfmark no.LD:D38575/81.

KATZ, David Joel.

*Kafir to Afghan: Religious Conversion, Political Incorporation and Ethnicity in the Vaygal Valley, Nuristan.* California (Los Angeles), 1982 (Ph.D. in Anthropology). 364p. DAI 43, no.4 (Oct. 1982): 1214-A; UM 8219698.

SCHMITZ, Barbara J.

*Miniature Painting in Harāt, 1570-1640.* New York, 1981 (Ph.D. in Fine Arts). 799p. DAI 42, no.7 (Jan. 1982): 2913-A; UM 8127962.

SHAMSI, S.

*Voprosy planirovaniia razvitiia i razmeshcheniia otraslei pishchevoi promyshlennosti (Na materialakh SSSR i Afganistana).* [Russian: Questions of Planning the Development and Location of Branches of the Food Industry: Based on Materials from the USSR and Afghanistan.] Kievskii institut narodnogo khoziaistva imeni D. S. Korotchenko, 1978 (Kandidat nauk in Economic Sciences).

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### FILM NOTES

Recent films on Afghanistan either show battles or refugees. Before the Soviet invasion there were a number of good to excellent films made about various aspects of life in Afghanistan. A number of them are still available in film libraries. Some sources that have come to our attention are listed below:

The Middle East Institute Film Library, 1761 N. Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, has AFGHAN WOMEN (color, 17 minutes); THE NOMADS OF BADAKHSHAN (color, 27 minutes); THE PAINTED TRUCK (color, 28 minutes); and STONES OF EDEN (color, 25 minutes).

Extension Media Center, University of California, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720, has AFGHAN NOMADS: THE MALDAR; AN AFGHAN VILLAGE; AFGHANISTAN: THREADS OF LIFE; and NAIM AND JABAR.

University of Illinois Film Center, 1325 Oak Street, Champaign, IL, has AFGHAN NOMADS: THE MALDAR; AN AFGHAN VILLAGE (Aq Kupruk); and NAIM AND JABAR.

The National Film Board of Canada, 1251 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020 has SONS OF HAJI OMAR, a 1978 film on Afghan Pashtoon nomads.

\* \*

Two 40-minute films on Afghan refugees in Pakistan are available from the UNHCR Liaison Office, Room C-301, United Nations, New York, NY 10017. One film shows the overall situation; the other deals specifically with the Turkmen. Write Ms. Kanchan Paser at the above address for further information.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS continued from p. 25.

THE JIHAD OF AFGHANISTAN AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION by Matthew Erulkar, published by the Islamic Unity of Afghanistan (P.O. Box 1541, Washington D.C. 20031), May 1983. 18 pp. + ii. Map. illus.

"GOVERNMENT OF GOD": IRAN'S ISLAMIC REPUBLIC by Cheryl Benard & Zalmay Khalilzad, Columbia University Press, NY, 1984. This book, to be published this month, contains a chapter on Iran-Afghan relations.

"Afghanistan: After 5 Years, What's Next?" by David Isby in SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, March 1983.

"Prisoners of the Afghans" by Ludmilla Thorne & David Friend with photos by Harry Benson in LIFE, February 1984. Pp. 22-28.

THE GULF SCENARIO by Richard Bulliet, NY, St. Martin's Press, 1984. 223 pp., \$12.95. The hero of this thriller even manages a trip through Afghanistan.

چه خدای کوی  
خدا به وشی خو  
د او بی کونده  
تنبله و نره

Trust in God,  
but tie  
your camel.

## BOOK REVIEWS

SCHMUCK UND SILBERSCHMIEDARBEITEN IN AFGHANISTAN UND ZENTRALASIEN. SCHMUCK IN SAMMLUNGEN. Mit zeitgenössischen Illustrationen und Originalzeichnungen von Rudolf Stuckert. Herausgegeben von Paul Bucherer-Dietschi. Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, Schriftenreihe/2, Liestal, 1981. Pp. 79.

This publication is the second in the new monograph series of Afghanistan studies published in Switzerland. It collects 12 articles or excerpts discussing the silver jewelry of northern Afghanistan or the jeweler's craft in Afghanistan generally. The sources are diverse; the majority appeared in German periodicals and books not frequently seen in US libraries. A few are previously unpublished. The selection earliest in date (1886, brief comments and drawings of "Turkoman Ornaments") is the only one in English. The German contributions range from 1914 to the present.

The approaches taken here to the general subject of Afghan jewelry are varied, including, for instance, discussion of jewelry in Afghan folklore and of how to organize a private collection. Most of the essays, however, deal with one of three general areas: Turkoman (and neighboring) dress and jewelry, the craft and business of the bazaar smiths, and particular artifacts in collections. The selections, with their differences in time, geographical emphasis and point of view, provide different glimpses of the role of jewelry in the commerce, social life and ethnicity of Afghanistan. The glimpses are necessarily brief and sometimes abrupt (the supporting illustrations total some 31 pages). The longest piece (10 pages) is "Jewelry craft and jewelry trade in Afghan bazaars" by D. Wiebe. The author is able to present in reasonable fullness his observations and data on the place of the jeweler among the bazaar businesses, the prominent role of Hindus in the craft and the impact of modernization on it.

One thread of unity throughout the book is provided by R. Stuckert's fine line drawings of individual pieces of jewelry. These well support the text and their detail serves, better than photography, to display and pay tribute to the objects' craftsmen. Students and admirers of Afghan crafts, interested in the social context of the production and use of these artifacts, will inevitably wish that the selections were more extensive. Within its compact format, however, this "sampler" in text and pictures points to a useful range of sources and serves in itself as a helpful reference for this area of Afghan cultural history.

Christopher J. Brunner  
New York, N.Y.

KIRGHIZ                      continued from p. 22.

the men who now wear western clothing almost exclusively, except for their traditional hats, the women have yet to make concessions to new dress codes. They wear long dresses over loose trousers - bright red still being the most popular shade. For modesty, single girls drape red scarves over their pill-box hats; married women choose white. It was never a Kirghiz custom to wear the veil.

The Afghan Kirghiz in Turkey are healthy, well-cared for and waiting to get down to the serious business of creating a bright future in Altintepe.

Nancy Hatch Dupree  
The Duprees were in Karagunduz  
in August, 1983

A "friend of Afghanistan" sent the DRA a copy of a September, 1983 CIA "Memorandum" about the Afghan situation. The Forum doesn't know if such a memo really exists - the CIA did not send us a copy - but here are excerpts from what the DRA claims is their copy (Bakhtar, 1/16):

In the memo "the existing situation & the specifics of the arrangement of belligerent forces in Afghanistan were comprehensively analyzed & the ways & means of subsequent utilization of the 'Afghan problem' in the interests of the USA were formulated & defined." The document states that "changing the 'existing regime' in the DRA is not possible... It stresses the need for providing ever-wider support & assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries... The isolation of the Karmal regime in the international arena has not brought about the expected results."

The structure of the resistance movements is of concern & two tasks must be fulfilled: 1) "Preservation of the existing state of the movement of rebels in Afghanistan, Pakistan & Iran which makes it possible that the USA may practically influence the growth & development of the political situation in the region & that this state may serve simultaneously as a firm means of pressure against the Soviet Union. 2) Formation of a coalition government of Afghanistan in exile for fighting against the Karmal regime & as an instrument of implementation of political measures in the framework of the UNO & other international organizations & likewise for legalizing the rebels' movement & providing assistance to it on the part of the countries of the free world. .. "

"As regards the assessment & analyses of the problem of unity of all the forces opposed to the revolution..., the compilers of the 'Memorandum' say that 'the US is not interested in linking the perspective of the rebels' movement in Afghanistan exceptionally with the possibilities of the formation of a single organization.' I.e., the existence of the conflicting groups ensures, to a considerable extent, the solution of the issues which the USA raises about this movement, and provides the possibility to quickly readjust it vis-a-vis the changes in the situation & tactics of the Afghan & Soviet authorities.... The CIA experts believe that the existence of a number of so-called independent Islamic parties, each of which has its own network & independent military units on the soil of Afghanistan, assures 'the preservation of powers of the activities of the rebels must be ensured at a sufficiently higher level in the territory of Afghanistan.'"

"Thus the CIA concludes that it is appropriate to take effective practical steps for uniting the counter-revolutionary movement without having a single center. However, the document stresses the 'need to preserve seemingly similar approaches by the Reagan administration to all the groups not to alienate in the first place all the chieftains of the movement from itself & secondly to achieve the goals of forming a government in exile.' The USA thinks that one of the former well-known personalities of Afghanistan must head such a government ... & the candidature of the former monarch of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah, has not been ruled out & the ultimate participation of leaders of 'the parties' based in Pakistan at Peshawar has not been excluded.

The 'Memorandum' advises the adoption of seemingly equal approach to all its components, with special attention to the groups of Gilani & Rabbani. At the same time a sufficiently comprehensive analysis & assessment of the activity of Hikmatyar's party as the 'strongest, most organized & armed party.' The CIA experts also express concern over the fact that Hikmatyar is becoming more uncontrollable & unmanageable. In this connection it is stated in the memo that 'in view of the instability of the Zia regime ... in Pakistan & similarly the willful attempts of Hikmatyar, as the information provided by Rabbani says, Hikmatyar changes into a dangerous face for Islamabad.' The 'memorandum' draws the conclusion that it is necessary to reach an agreement with Pakistan in respect of 'changing & replacing the present leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, meaning Hikmatyar, by a more proper candidate so that in future Hizb-e-Islami Afghanistan... & the rebel's movement as a whole may be utilized.'"



## CHRONOLOGY FROM KABUL

11/10 - A multi-purpose socio-economic survey of Kabul City was taken recently. About 2,000 families were randomly selected to answer questions about their household budgets, nutritive & caloric intake, marriage age & the "proportion of defective children with prenatal malformations, etc." The results will be tabulated & will be used for the preparation of socio-economic plans.

- "Israel will supply arms captured during the aggression in Lebanon to Afghan counter-revolutionary bands making raids on Afghanistan from Pakistani territory. Commenting on this, the NY Post again draws the public's attention to secret ties between the CIA, the Israeli zionists & leaders of Afghan counter-revolution which all 3 sides would, naturally, like to conceal."

- Babrak addressed the Politburo of the PDPA CC & stressed the need "for strengthening discipline in the party & conducting decisive struggle against all kinds of deviations, factionism & factionism in the party." He also called for decisions to prevent "mischief, corruption, misconduct & violation of the accepted party & state norms."

11/12 - Over 164,000 people have been organized in trade unions.

- In Nangarhar: 21 state & private industrial enterprises are functioning; the citrus yield was 50 tons during the 1st quarter; 900 tons of wheat were marketed; & 600 tons of milk were produced in the 1st half of the year.

- A number of reserve force soldiers in Kunar, Takhar & Jauzjan completed their terms of service. However, a number volunteered to continue serving & pledged that they would "not lay down their arms until the last remnants of the counter-revolutionaries are wiped out."

- Public Health Minister Nabi Kamyar said that Afghanistan has 40 state pharmacies & that the state plans to open 20 more in the next 3 years. A "huge central polyclinic is in progress & this is one of the largest projects of the health ministry."

11/13 - The Bakhtar political observer writes: "The Washington administration continues to step up subversive actions against the DRA. The training of hired gangs recruited from among the Afghan refugees who are away from their native country for one reason or another, has been intensified in 100 special camps set up by the CIA agents in Pakistani territory. About 300, repeat 300, American military instructors teach them the tactics of sabotage & terrorism. After having received detailed instructions from the Americans, the bandits are smuggled into the DRA to kill, to blow up & burn everything they can lay their hands on there. Along with carrying out acts of terrorism against the DRA, the US & its western partners have of late intensified their covert activities for uniting the isolated Afghan counter-revolutionary groups who have entrenched themselves in Pakistan... This is why a delegation of what is described as Afghan refugees residing in the USA & in Western Europe arrived in Peshawar the other day. Together with the ringleaders of such counter-revolutionary groupings as Hezbi Islami, Harakat-i-Inqilabi-Islami & others, this delegation is to knock together a 'United Front.'"

- A domestically-produced film festival opened yesterday in Kabul. "The Hot Summer of Kabul" opened the program with "My Love, My Nation," "In Sin," "The Villages are Waking Up," "The Crazy Akhbar" & "The Criminals" also on the bill.

- Afs. 120m worth of consumer goods have been made available to the DRA populace during the current year.

- 59 oil wells are functioning in Shiberghan & over 535m cubic meters of natural gas were extracted during the 1st quarter of 1362 - 93% of the target plan.

- Counter-revolutionaries were crushed in Badghis, "60 assorted arms, 2 rocket launchers, a number of anti-tank mines & 48 horses were recovered from them."

## NOTES FROM ALL OVER

The resistance in Wardak issued its own postage stamps in denominations of Afs. 20, 50 & 100. A complete set is available from

Afrane,  
BP 254,  
75524  
Paris  
Cedex 11  
France  
for 50  
French  
francs.



\* \* \*

According to the SOVIET NATIONALITY SURVEY (Vol. 1, No. 1, January, 1984), TadzhiKfilm released a new film entitled "Moment." The 1982 film is set in Afghanistan and depicts the heroic death of Oleksander Myronenko, a young soldier, who lost his life while warding off a "bandit" attack on a convoy of "peace-loving" trucks loaded with food supplies. (The SOVIET NATIONALITY SURVEY is published 10 times/year by Suchasnist Publishers, 15 Sherringham Ave., London N17 9RS, England. The subscription price of the 8 page publication is \$30/year.)

\* \* \*

Observers in Kabul have noted lately that Pres. Babrak Karmal has been weeping a lot. The AICMB of 1/84 states that Karmal becomes very emotional when he speaks and sheds abundant tears. "The most impressive Presidential weeping 'session' occurred at the 'Fatherland Kindergarden' when he spoke to the orphans of 'heroes fallen for the Revolution.' The population, however, does not seem to be favorably impressed, because traditionally an Afghan male is never supposed to weep."

\* \* \*

The Centre de Recherches Documentaires sur l'Afghanistan, c/o AFRANE, BP 254, 75524 Paris Cedex 11, France, was opened December 10. The Center will have documents and articles in many languages, bibliographies and other research materials. The Center is located at 17 rue Pascal in Paris & is open from 11 to 6:30 on Tuesday; 2 to 4:30 on Wednesdays; 10:30 to 1:30 & 5 to 7 on Thursdays; & 9:30 to noon on Saturdays. A membership card is 60 Ff. The telephone number is 336.75.25.

\* \* \*

An Afghan bakery recently opened in New York City. The bakery, at 764 Ninth Ave., is run by Moh'd Roezi, a Kabul native who came to the US four years ago. The NYT reports that "the soft, pliable, flat breads are about 2 feet long & look something like a cross between a pita & a bath towel. The surface is furrowed and the breads are plain or lightly seasoned with garlic or onion. They are \$1.25 each..."

One of Mr. Roezi's assistants asserted that the bread keeps well and is still edible after two or three weeks. Rather than put that theory to the test, freeze it whole, rolled up or cut in sections. Try it with soup or cheese. Small strips or squares can be used with dips or to make hors d'oeuvres. And if spread with tomato sauce, topped with mozzarella cheese and baked, it is none other than Afghan pizza. That's surely unheard of in Kabul or even in California.

\* \* \*

## CENTRAL ASIA CENTER AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

A Center for the Study of Central Asia (which includes Afghanistan) has been established at Columbia University. Edward Allworth will head the Center. Associates of the Center include Thomas Bernstein, Richard Bulliet, Philip Schuyler, Zalmai Khalilzad, Robert Lewis, Boris Moisezon, Theodore Riccardi, Jr., Howard Wriggins & Stephen Rittenberg. Further information about the Center may be obtained from Prof. Edward Allworth, 618 Kent Hall, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027. (212) 280-2556.

AMERICAN AID FOR AFGHANS, 6443 S.W. Beaverton Highway, Portland, Oregon 97221 (503-297-4743) appealed for funds to purchase boots for Commander Massoud's resistance fighters. Director Don Weidenweber planned to take the boots to Massoud in February.

Every dollar given to American Aid for Afghans was to be matched by the Federation for American Afghan Action. Weidenweber estimated the price of a pair of boots at \$20.

11/23 - An earthquake of 5 on the Richter Scale rocked Kabul yesterday.

- S.V. Persov, member of the Soviet State Planning Committee, arrived in Kabul to participate in the 3rd session of the joint Afghan-Soviet commission on economic cooperation; Said Amir Zara, Pres. of Bakhtar Info Agency left for an official & friendly visit to Cuba.

- Raz Moh'd Pakteen, Minister of Electric Energy, opened a week-long exhibition of Bulgarian electrical generators.

11/24 - "A former sec'y of the provincial committee of the PDPA of Balkh Province & 3 of his accomplices have been executed in accordance of a special revolutionary court." Ahad Rahnaward & his cohorts were convicted of murdering Sayed Azim Gowhary & for abusing their party positions.

- Ahmed Ali Kohzad, a prominent historian, died at age 75.

- The Bakhtar political observer has a lot to say about the UNGA vote on Afghanistan: "The representatives of Britain & the US have made the irresponsible and slanderous statements on the issue of the situation around Afghanistan in the General Assembly of the UN... Similarly, a delegate of the Federal Republic of Germany which is engaged in a frenzied campaign to deploy US nuclear missiles in Europe raises anti-Afghan and anti-Soviet hullabaloo and serving the interests of their American masters. Now let us assess as to whose representatives first of all have raised deafening clamors and uproars against revolutionary Afghanistan.

A number of unpopular & dictatorial governments who are hated by their nations such as Pakistan, Chile, El Salvador, South Africa, Honduras & Israel should have talked & voted against Afghanistan. Well, to speak the truth, had such countries said even one word in sympathy with the DRA, the whole substance of Afghan revolution would have become doubtful. A few governments of far-fledged countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Pacific Ocean & similar ones who do not have adequate information on the internal conditions of Afghanistan & have been misled by the false & mendacious propaganda of imperialist countries have also fallen in the trap of such slanderous clamors. The fact is that this instigatory provocation is nothing more than the repetition of the 5-year-old dim & colorless scenario which the imperialists are attempting to give a legal shape. Every discussion on the internal issues of Afghanistan in fact is an explicit intervention in the internal affairs of the DRA & is in contradiction to the charter of the UN & the accepted norms of international relations... Why would the UN not search, study & discuss the main causes of the issues around Afghanistan which are created & abetted by the plunderous intervention & the undeclared war unleashed by world imperialism & its regional stooges against an independent & sovereign country of Afghanistan... The UNO must be fully aware that the Afghan people have already chosen their socio-political course with the victory of April Revolution. No country & no organization including UNO can determine another destiny for the people of the DRA. It is for this reason that Shah Moh'd Dost, Minister of Foreign Affairs & the head of the Afghan Delegation at the 38th

UNGA, flatly rejected the imposed resolution on the issues around Afghanistan & called it an open intervention in the internal affairs of the DRA & declared it illegal."

11/26 - The Raisin Export Dev. Inst. has earned over \$37m the 1st half of this year. Afghan raisins go to the USSR, Britain, Czechoslovakia, India, the GDR & Holland.

11/27 - Health Minister Nabi Kamyar led a delegation to visit Cuba.

- The DYOA in Kunar Province has over 1,700 members.

- The 16 km. main section of the circular road of Kabul City was inaugurated by Gen. Moh'd Rafi, Dep. Chmn. of the Council of Ministers.

- Zia-u-ddin & Abdulag, members of Etehad Islami, were executed for the murder of Dep. Transportation Minister Moh'd Dahli on 11/7/82. They were also convicted of killing a Kabul Univ. law student.

- 83 persons in Faizabad were imprisoned for counter-revolutionary acts.

11/28 - The protocol on the work of the 3rd subcommission of Afghan-Soviet cooperation for preparation & implementation of medium term & regional planning was signed.

11/30 - The army has 2,300 literacy courses & over 17,000 soldiers have graduated from them. To further enlightened soldiers & officers "570 courses for teaching political subjects & 58 clubs for recreational purposes were established."

11/30 - Mahmood Baryalai, sec'y of the PDPA CC, left with a delegation on an official & friendly visit to Cuba.

- Over 70,000 state workers have become members of the Kabul Central Polyclinic (compared to 23,000 before the revolution, when state employees had to pay 2% of their salary to become members). Health centers have been set up at the State Printing House, the transport enterprise & the Afghan construction unit. The state plans to establish 4 new health centers in factories each year.

هیچ گل بی خار نیست  
"No rose is without thorns."

12/1 - 80 trade unions with 11,000 members are organized in Baghlan. This has led to a 15% increase in production.  
- Saleh Moh'd Zeary & Abdul Majid Sarbiland addressed a "gala function" marking the 5th anniversary of the treaty of friendship, cooperation & goodneighborliness between the DRA & the USSR. Zeary called the treaty the "reliable bulwark for the defense of sovereignty, national independence & territorial integrity of Afghanistan." Sarbiland called it "a major guarantee for the safeguard of the sovereignty of the DRA & the gains of the April Revolution against the imperialist hegemonist & reactionary enemies."

- Babrak met with members of the new commission for the "evaluation of the draft law on local organs of state power & administration." Babrak said, "We could have gathered people from the provinces & given them the main name of Loya Jirgah (parliament) but we want to establish general democracy. That is why we would enforce the law on local organs of state power & administration."

12/3 - Carpet & rug exports have increased this year thanks to the hard workers in north & northwest Afghanistan - 80,000 sq. meters in the 1st 6 months (see 12/8).

- Miscreants were arrested in Kunduz.

- Party membership has already exceeded 100,000. "More & more people, particularly from the younger generation are joining the party ranks" & "with each passing day new groups of youth join the security forces & take up arms to secure the peaceful life of their countrymen."

12/4 - "Brotherly Nationalities" is the title of a new magazine issued bi-monthly by the Ministry of Tribes & Nationalities. It is published in Dari, Uzbeki, Turkmani, Baluchi, Pashee & Nuristani languages.

12/6 -The "overall developmental investment in post revolutionary years amounted to over Afs. 55 billion which equals 80% of the total developmental investment made in the course of 20 pre-revolutionary years." This year's targets: 145,000 tons of coal; 140,000 tons of cement; 60m meters of cotton cloth. Industrial output is to increase by Afs. 18 billion, handicrafts by Afs. 14 billion. "Afs. 5099 million will also be invested in the sphere of mines, industries & energy."

12/6 - A 25,000 kwh transformer was commissioned in Kabul. It will provide power to Khairkhana Meena, Parwan 3rd & Timany Watt & boost Kabul's electric supply by 18%.

- The 1st national conference of the groups of the Defenders of the Revolution was held in Kabul. In addition to the 500 Defenders, Saleh Moh'd Zeary & S.M. Gulabzoi attended.

- The Council of Ministers & the Central Committee met to discuss the amendment to the law of landholding... The legal problems which obstructed the speedy execution of land reform are removed in the new draft proposal & thus the peasants can easily receive their title deeds hereafter...free of charge." A "major improvement" proposed in the new legislation is the formation of the Council of Village Peasants. The Councils, to be elected by the villagers, will "regulate in a better way the active participation of the peasant in implementing land & water reforms." Council members will resolve disputes & recommend measures for improved land utilization. The Council of Ministers must approve the proposals & Babrak "criticized the slow action taken by the concerned departments for carrying out the land reforms." (See 12/15)

- The 1st 60 craftsmen graduated from Kabul's professional craft school which was established last year with help from the USSR. It is one of 6 such schools (in Kabul, Jalalabad & Mazar-i-Sharif) where young workers receive technical training. Agreements for increasing the number of these schools have been signed by the DRA & the USSR.

- To upgrade health care, overtime can now be paid to health service workers.

- Moh'd Belal & Ainuddin were executed for murdering Moh'd Haneef, a Defense Ministry employee; and six others received 6-18 year sentences for sabotage.

-12/7 - The USSR will supply wheat & cotton seeds worth 1,318,000 rubles. They will be financed by Soviet credit & will be delivered before 3/21/84.

12/8 - In the past 8 months 500,000 sq. meters of carpet & 188,000 sq. meters of rugs were exported to over 28 countries.

- Over 200 counter-revolutionaries were arrested in Badakhshan Province; another group was arrested in Balkh.

12/10 - The DRA has allocated Afs.

3,700,000 to purchase fuel & firewood for Afghanistan's mosques.

- Traditional Afghan dolls won an award at the 5th Int'l Festival of Folk Art in Warsaw.

- Sulaiman Layeq met with party & 25th Division leaders in Khost.

- The Bakhtar political observer on broadcasting: "It will be sufficient to recall that over 40 imperialist broadcasting stations propagate only against the USSR for 270 hours. The main objective of such anti-Soviet propaganda is to disrupt the process of detente & to damage the movements of peace, justice & social progress. However, in the case of revolutionary Afghanistan this propaganda has been turned into a direct & open intervention. Western propaganda apparatuses, including the VOA & BBC, have stepped up their propaganda against Afghanistan after the April Revolution. This happened at the same time when BBC announced that due to budgetary problems it would cease its broadcasts for some of the African countries. At the end of 1981, BBC once again announced that the budget for foreign broadcasting has been curtailed by 3m but we can see with wonder that at the very time anti-Afghanistan propaganda was stepped up by that imperialist radio. Many similarities exist in the anti-Afghan propaganda by imperialist radios which emanate from their ideological platforms & NATO's political information services play a major role in this connection. The professional staff of the imperialist radios occasionally attend special lectures, seminars & courses organized by the NATO & subsequently reflect NATO's propaganda & tactics in their broadcasts. The theme & content of their broadcasts are controlled by the intelligence agencies & the foreign offices of the imperialist countries. In addition to controlling the VOA & BBC, the CIA also leads 40 other radio stations in different parts of the world for meeting the interventionist & hegemonist objectives of Washington. Here in Afghanistan, the undeclared war & the psychological warfare of imperialism against our people & our revolution is a clear example. In November of 1979 a special meeting was held in the White House under the chairman of Brzezinski (sic), advisor for secret services to the US President in which US radio broadcasts were discussed. It was in this meeting Brzezinski outlined the anti-Afghan & anti-Soviet propaganda & later in Peshawar he appeared among the Afghan counter-revolutionaries. While intensifying its poisonous propaganda the USA has also increased the undeclared war against us with the help of reactionary circles in the region. With this psychological war the US imperialism tries to camouflage the US military presence in the Indian Ocean & the Middle East & at the same time turning Pakistan into a springboard of imperialist adventures & aggressive plans. In April 1979 the VOA program for Iran & Afghanistan was 3.5 hours weekly. But by November it reached 10 hours per week & by December 1979 jumped to 14 hours per week. In 1980

the White House decided to increase their propaganda against Afghanistan to 42 hours per week aiming to destabilize the situation in the region & produce illusion about the April Revolution & its gains. Although this propaganda crusade cannot change the law-governed course of revolutionary developments in our country, it does confuse to some extent the public opinion. This is why the imperialist propaganda was intensified simultaneously with the undeclared war of the imperialism & reaction against Afghanistan."

12/11 - Over 1m persons have graduated from literacy schools. Zafarzai, Pres. of the Literacy Dept. stated that "the illiterate persons in these courses not only learn how to read & write but the necessary socio-political information is also taught to them."

- About 6m cubic meters of gas & 40 tons of oil condensates are produced every 24 hours from "the 18 gas wells of Jerqodoq Mine in Sheberghan" By 3/20/84, 1.5 billion cubic meters of gas will have been taken from the Gogerdak Project & production was 10% over the target plan in the 1st 6 months of this year.

- Hungary sent Afs. 10m worth of clothes, medicine & food to the DRA.

12/12 - A cooperation protocol (for 1983-1985) between the unions of journalists in the DRA & Cuba was signed.

- "The struggle for the eradication of illiteracy & expansion of literacy among women is accelerating under the leadership of party & state organs & social organizations, especially the DWOA, taking into account the characteristics & conditions of villages, towns & other remote localities & areas."

- The GDR & the DRA signed a contract for the purchase of tools & carpet-knitting machines for the Pule-Charkhi Woolen Mills. "The new facilities will enable the factory to produce over 81,000 sq. meters of carpets in better quality & design. Carpets knitted & produced so far in Afghanistan by hand only will now be produced by machine also."

12/13 - In Cuba, Mahmood Baryalai met with Fidel Castro.

12/14 - A 200-bed, 4-story hospital is nearing completion in Herat.

- A "memo of understanding for cooperation in the public health sector was signed in Havana by Cuba & the DRA.

12/14 - The Logar River project, to supply drinking water to Kabul, is being financed by Afs. 194m from the state budget, an \$8.7m loan from the World Bank & a \$1.3m grant from Canada.

- The various conferences held in the US on Afghanistan this fall annoyed the Bakhtar political observer: "...US imperialism has been using various means & methods in an attempt to diminish the prestige & importance of the national & revolutionary movements & of the progressive governments in the Asian, African & Latin American continents. Such activities were organized against the national & democratic revolution of Afghanistan, too, mainly through the American CIA, US State & Defense Departments & the White House at different intervals of time. Such a provocation was, for instance, staged recently at the Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha Town. Everybody knows that in the US, educational institutions such as the faculty of social sciences of Columbia Univ., special center for the study of international relations at Harvard University, special center for the study of Slav Eastern European countries at California University, etc., have been used as tools for the preservation of American system & for abetting counter-revolution beyond the US frontiers. Studied at these centers are problems of the methodology of the provocations & subversions against other independent states which are not to the liking of the USA. With the direct help of the US State & Defense Depts. & CIA these centers evolve methods of open interference in the internal affairs of such countries. For example, among the notorious figures pitted against the people & revolution of Afghanistan who dished out heaps of falsehoods against revolutionary Afghanistan at the Nebraska University was Brzezinski, National Security Adviser to the former US President Jimmy Carter. He is the man who organized the propaganda & subversive activities of the Afghan counter-revolution. It was on his personal initiative that the ringleaders of the Afghan counter-revolution visited & have been visiting the White House & more than \$300m worth of weapons have been given by Washington to these terrorists & professional murderers... The fervor & zeal with which Brzezinski (sic) called for further arming of the Afghan counter-revolution for killing innocent Afghans clearly marked him out as psychopath. Unfortunately the number of such psychopaths in the Reagan administration is not few. The frenzied efforts of such neurotic personalities for intensifying terror, bloodshed & intervention against the DRA not only highlights the pressing need of the defense of the revolution by the Afghan people, but also explains the need for the presence of limited Soviet military contingents for the preservation of independence, national sovereignty & territorial integrity of Afghanistan until such interventions do not (sic) cease & guarantees for their non-recurrence are made available.

- Further comment on "intervention." [12/18]

"The leaders of Washington are continuing their brazen intervention in the internal affairs of the DRA. This is said by daily Haqiqate Inqilabe Saur in an article commenting on a new provocative gathering which was convened in Washington by the White House under the title of so-called "Gathering on Afghanistan." By holding such meetings on the so-called Afghanistan's issue they have showed that interfering in Afghanistan's internal affairs has become the official policy of the USA, the article emphasized. What is the objective underlying such periodical propaganda campaigns concerning Afghanistan? The answer is clear. The leaders of Washington by making these calls actually intend to intensify the undeclared war against Afghanistan while diverting the world public opinions from their own reactionary & aggressive policies towards the Afghan people. However, the newspaper observed, today even the sworn enemies of the people of Afghanistan have realized the fact that revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irrever-

sible. Despite the wishes of Washington's leaders the same conclusion was also announced even by the organizers of this gathering & the Western media, the newspaper concluded." [The upshot of this gathering, held December 12 & 13, was that the Soviets were not likely to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan in the near future. Ed.]

12/15 - Statistics on youth for the recently ended academic year: 200,000 in 469 secondary schools; 1m in primary schools; 120,000 in the "ranks of youth organizations." - 7 were killed and 18 others injured in "severe fighting between the Afghan counter-revolutionary bands entrenched in Pakistan territory." One band was Gulbuddin's & the fighting reportedly took place in the Spin Tani Camp.

- A Western media team ended a week-long visit to Kabul. Peter Behr of Stern, Mark Dastazio of Business Week & Helmut Weinand of the FRG were among the groups' members. "Asked to comment on the practice of some Western journalists who after departing from Afghanistan distorted the facts & published fabrications on Afghanistan," the Stern reporter said it was "regrettable." - The Revolutionary Council remitted the remaining prison terms of a number of people on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday.

- The Presidium of the RC approved the land reform amendments & recommended that the landholding law be printed in one volume (see 12/6).

12/17 - Countrywide meetings were held to mark the Prophet Mohammed's birthday. The DRA has spent Afs. 130m on mosque repair in 1981-82 & Afs. 85m this year on Haj pilgrimage subsidies.

- The Friendship Cup was won by the KU & the Kabul Military Academy football teams since their tie game was not resolved in the 40-minute overtime period.

- The Samoon fruit company has a new machine that can process & pack 5 tons of raisins per hour.

12/18 - DRA security forces destroyed 11 counter-revolutionary hideouts & arrested 900 "criminals including their foreign instructors" in August & Sept. - Work on the establishment of a High Tribal Jirgah is in progress. The assembly will have 150 delegates representing the border provinces - Paktia, Paktika, Ghazni, Zabul, Kandahar, Helmand & Nimroz. It will be a permanent body with the Minister of Tribes & Nationalities as its president. There



will be 4 deputy presidents & a secretary. The Assembly will make recommendations for improving tribal relationships, help solve tribal problems & propagate the objectives of the revolution & "the revolutionary transformations of the tribal customs & traditions."

12/19 - Agricultural output rising; some comparisons:

1981	Yield/hectare	1982
1235 kg	wheat	1240 kg
800 kg	cotton	1040 kg
1300 kg	cereal	1350 kg

Afs 1.1m was allocated last year to boost production.

- The hydroelectric project in Kunar has its 2nd turbine.

- "According to the UN High Commissioner's Office for Refugees, up to 20% of all relief is lost in Pakistan due to corruption & negligence. This, however, does not mean that the refugees get the remaining 80% of the aid. The thing is that this aid is distributed only thru the 6 largest counter-revolutionary 'parties' which have their headquarters in Peshawar & those who refuse to join the ranks of the counter-revolutionaries actually do not get anything."

- The DYOA has set up 3 winter cultural centers in which over 12,000 students can carry out educational, artistic, sports & other cultural programs during the 3-month winter holiday.

12/21 - Over 170,000 workers belong to trade unions in the DRA. However, 552,000 people work in the industrial sector so trade union membership should be raised.

-- A protocol on "training of statistical cadres" for 1984-87 was signed by the DRA & the USSR.

12/22 - Over 500 families have returned to their homes in Farah Province.

- Counter-revolutionary gangs were crushed in Takhar, Kunduz & Ghazni.

- The DRA delivered a protest note to the charge d'affaires of Pakistan in Kabul complaining of subversive & provocative acts committed by Pakistan in the Torkham area.

12/24 - Babrak "took a round of Kabul City on Friday. During this tour he had various on-the-spot meetings with the people in the course of which he heard their problems & issued necessary directives."

12/25 - Next year 2.4 billion cubic meters of natural gas from Jarqodok & Khawaja Gogerdak gas fields are to be exported to the USSR (the same amount as last year).

- Over 100,000 people marched on the US Embassy in Kabul to protest the US invasion of Grenada.

- Bareq Shafie, 1st Dep. Pres. of the Central Council of the NFF said in a press conference: "Over 50 imperialist & reactionary radio stations make 110 hours anti-DRA & anti-revolutionary broadcasts in 24 hours... VOA which used to make a weekly broadcast of 3½ hours in native languages has increased its broadcast to 42 hours against our country since 1980."

12/26 - A 300-watt radio transmitter between Kabul & Sheberghan & a 30-watt apparatus in Jauzjan were inaugurated.

12/27 - Over Afs. 43 billion have been earned from natural gas exports since 1980.

- About 6,000 students have passed the entrance exams for vocational & higher studies institutions & will be admitted in the coming academic year. Another 3,000 who have completed their military service will be admitted without exams.

12/28 - The 2nd collection of Babrak's "statements & writings" has been published by the Party Press.

- The DYOA has grown from 40,000 to 120,000 since 1979.

- Kamaz Cargo has earned over Afs. 70m in the 1st 9 months of this year. The company transports goods from Hairatan port throughout the DRA & has 900 employees & 321 vehicles.

12/29 - A new protocol between the USSR & the DRA calls for a barter trade volume of \$800m - a 15% increase over 1983.

- Counter-revolutionaries in Jauzjan & Takhar have repented & are now serving in Revolutionary Defense groups.

12/29 - The Joisha Dam on the Kabul River was inaugurated. The Afs. 24m dam will bring 2,000 hectares in the Deh Sabz district of Kabul under irrigation.

- Babrak visited the Watan Nursery & spoke with the orphans there.

- The Politburo of the PDPA CC met yesterday & approved measures to expand party primary organizations at the village level. It approved a document calling for "the promotion of the political awareness of the broad masses of the people leading them to fight intransigently against the counter-revolution. The resolution defines how to do this. The Politburo also approved a "regulation which gives definite directives to the administrators of the zones, provinces, districts & sub districts as to how to consolidate the state power in the localities."

- 700 members of the Etehad-e-Islami were crushed (210 captured, the rest eliminated) in Badakhshan. Along with subversion, sabotage & murder, the group was accused of stealing lapis lazuli. "Iranian & Pakistani banknotes and over Afs. 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>m were recovered from them."

12/31 - A \$4m contract to purchase machinery & equipment (shovels, cranes & vehicles) was signed by the DRA & the USSR.

- Counter-revolutionaries knocked out the power line in the Sarobi district.

- Diesel oil, kerosene, flour, edible oil & rice were distributed yesterday in anticipation of the 19th birthday of the PDPA.

- A severe earthquake (7 on the Mercalli scale) shook Kabul & suburbs. Its epicenter was somewhere in Badakhshan. The Sahabuzzaman Mosque in the Afshar sub-district was damaged as were other buildings. Babrak visited the damaged areas, expressed his sympathy to the residents & gave instructions to relief & repair crews.

- Milli Bus has 400 buses & 70 trolley buses & operates 34 lines in Kabul from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m.; Kabul has 17 new public phone booths and a new automatic telephone exchange in Khair Khana Mena.

- Recently 1,500 families (4,100 persons) returned to Nimroz from Iran.

1984 at last...

1/2 - Over 2,000 midwives have received training in 17 provinces.

- The PDPA's 19th birthday was celebrated in the media.

- "Party members in the armed forces increased by 22% as compared to 40% soldiers, the sons of peasants & workers, 24% officers & 22% students." Since the revolution, 10,200 members of the armed forces have received "medals & marks."

1/5 - Kabul's trolley buses have carried over 18.7 million people since 3/20/83. The Af. 1 fare does not cover the cost so the state subsidy per ride is Afs. .81. The trolley buses run on 3 lines and some have women drivers.

- The political commentator has the following to say about Zahir Shah: "On the beautiful coasts of Syracuse in Sicily there are a number of deposed but wealthy kings having a good time & rolling in luxury. Among them is the deposed king of Afghanistan called Moh'd Zahir Shah... the most favorite one of the imperialist quarters. Last week, when all mass media of imperialism were campaigning against the DRA, the deposed king...also had a sign of grief while recalling the good old days of his royal campings at Paghman Pass & Darai Shakari & the army of slaves & servants who served on 'his majesty' & broadcast on radios of the west a 'message' to the people of Afghanistan. The statement of Zahir Shah clearly indicated his dismay at the fact that a nation had become the master of its own destiny. He can't reckon with the fact that the turbulence of revolution has washed away all the roots of the medieval feudal monarchy & the power has gone to those very bands who in the period of his rule ploughed the land or turned the wheel of industry or were languishing in the king's dungeons... Our emancipated people have to ask from Zahir: 'How come that you who never thought for 45 years about the people of Afghanistan are now worried about them?'..."

1/8 - The Carpentry enterprise has earned Afs. 92,000,000 since 3/20/83. The enterprise now makes pencils & pens from scrap material.

1/8 - A gravel & asphalt plant was inaugurated in Jabul Seraj. The output will be used to asphalt the Jabul Seraj, Salang & Surobi-Kabul highways.

- Babrak spoke for 6 hours at a "grand meeting" at the Defense Ministry & emphasized the need for "ever-further consolidation of the armed forces for the decisive defense of the revolution & for the final elimination of the counter-revolution.

1/9 - The "need of the peasants of the country in the field of chemical fertilizers & improved seeds has been fully met."

1/10 - Elders in Kunar, Kapisa & Badghis held jirgahs to express their support for the DRA.

- An amendment to Article 15 of Decree # 8 allows peasants to possess 30 jeribs of 1st grade land. This is 3 times more than previously allowed. Gardeners can now possess more than 6 hectares for gardening & those who "possess less than 1 hectare of 1st grade land will receive in case of the existence of land for distribution up to 5 hectares of 1st grade land."

"Regulation fees for lands are exempted from the payment of the registration fee."

- The mortgage & construction bank has loaned over Afs/ 46m to civil servants, military personnel, workers & retired persons. "A large number of the recipients of these loans were able to build houses."

1/11 - The FAO gave the Afghan Red Crescent Society \$5,000.

- International trade for the 1st 6 months of this year shows \$32.6m worth of exports & \$301.8 worth of imports.

- A 30-meter bridge has been built over the Hari Rod River at Sawa in Herat at a cost of Afs. 2,3000,000 (sic).

- In Kandahar there are 4,000 trade union members & 2,000 members of the NFF.

1/12 - The Politburo met yesterday. F.M. Shah Moh'd Dost spoke about the "provocative, interventionist & hostile policy of the ruling circles of Iran against the DRA." Babrak pointed out the historic fraternal ties between the Moslem people of Iran & Afghanistan & promised to take "further practical action" towards the holy religion of Islam. The housing needs of Kabul residents were also discussed.

1/14 - Trade volume between the DRA & the USSR has risen to \$766.1m in 1361 (82-83) from \$197.9 in 1357 (78-79). The share of the USSR in the DRA's total foreign trade was 54.6% in 1361 - compared to 27.1% in 1357. Exports to the USSR in 1361 were \$355.2m - compared to \$112.3m in 1357. Imports from the USSR - \$411m in 1361 (59% of all imports) compared to \$85.6 in 1357. Barter trade volume will be increased 15% in 1984.

- The Writer's Union has 600 members.

1/15 - The Heywad reporter says of Khost: "The hustle & bustle in bazaars, joyous people walking in the sun on the streets lined with pine & fir trees enjoying the moderate climate are what one comes across in Khost... The people of the (Khost) division, while continuing their normal everyday life, also serve the security posts to ensure peace & security in the region. They spare no efforts in annihilating counter-revolutionaries."

- Master's degrees are now being awarded by the Higher Institute of Teachers' Training. The institute has a 2-year master's degree program.

1/17 - More foreign trade figures for the 1st half of this year: Total: \$616.2m; Imports: \$294.6; Exports: \$321.6. Trade with Socialist countries - 64.9%; with other countries - 35.1%.

- A long-term cooperative agreement between Kabul & Moscow was signed. Moscow will help Kabul with construction, engineering and city-cleaning projects & will send engineers & specialists.

- The PDPA CC met to deliberate the draft of the law of local organs & state power & administration. The new law, according to Babrak, "will ensure the extensive participation of the broad masses of the Afghan people in the administration of the country."

1/19 - "The people of Kandahar Province in a grand meeting reiterated their full support to the revolutionary gov't of the DRA."

- The Daily Heywad says that US aid to the rebels will be \$125m in 1984.

1/24 - Contracts for the purchase of 200 tractors, 35,000 tons of sugar (for purchase) & 6,000 tons of sugar (gratis) were signed by the DRA & the USSR.

1/25 - Afghanistan states "that there are none & never have been any uranium deposits in its territory." As to gas sales to the USSR, which began in 1967, the prices at which Afghan gas is bought by the USSR are equal to the West European gas market. In the past few years gas prices "have grown several times over" & gas sales to the USSR provide "close to 50% of the state budget income." (See Chronology p. 4, 1/12)

1/26 - Tomorrow is the 30th anniversary of the signing of the 1st economic & technical cooperation agreement between Afghanistan & the USSR. The USSR's share in the 1st Afghan 5-year plan was 56%; 62% in the 2nd; over 60% in the 3rd; in 1359 it reached 75% & for 1360 it was 66%. "Total technical, training & miscellaneous Soviet assistance has reached to more than \$347m & 90,000 tons of wheat... Thousands of Afghan students have been sent to the USSR for higher studies & after 1358 almost 1,400 Afghan youth join Soviet institutes of higher education yearly." Over 70% of the state-run industrial output is from products obtained from USSR supported projects.

- A representative of the Int'l Red Cross & Red Crescent presented the Afghan Red Crescent with checks for 15,000 swiss francs & \$5,000.

- Miscreants were "mopped out" in Balkh, Paktika, Herat & Nangarhar. Lots of weapons were seized from these "homosiders."

- The Politburo met & discussed the new plan for Kabul City. Babrak said that the "old city must be replaced by magnificent residential high-rise buildings & a center for the social, cultural & commercial activities."

1/30 - Electricity from the USSR began flowing to the DRA last Saturday over the new high voltage line over the Amu.

1/31 - "Rumors that the Afghan armed forces are in a delporable state... do not correspond to reality," writes Mexican journalist, Luis Suarez, in his book THE OTHER FACE OF AFGHANISTAN, issued by Grijalbo Publishing House in Mexico. "The Afghan army is mastering the rich experience of Soviet friends, & this contributes to the rise in the level of its combat training."

- The DRA will open new accounts in Indian banks to help increase trade between the two countries.

- The USSR will supply tools, equipment & material for the construction of "galleries" & "anti-avalanche installations" for the Salang highway.

- Officers & soldiers who "showed bravery in destroying counter-revolutionaries" in Khost were awarded medals by Moh'd Farooque, Gen. Pres. of the Pol. Aff. Dept. of the Interior Ministry.

- Over 10,000 Afghans have returned from Iran to Nimroz in the last 3 months. The DRA has exempted them from the draft "yet hundreds have already joined voluntarily the ranks of the armed forces."

2/1 - Over 1,000 tons of coal were extracted from mines in Baghlan since 3/83, an increase of 5% over last year.

2/2 - A representative from the Red Cross League & Int'l. Red Crescent has been in the DRA to assess the losses from the recent earthquake. Baghlan was the hardest hit. Earthquakes in Kabul & Jalalabad killed one & wounded 35 & the damage is estimated at Afs. lm.

- 475 bandits were killed in Kandahar, Herat (Shindand), Faryab, Badghis, Kabul & Balkh Provinces.

- The new law on private investment will be completed shortly.

2/4 - BIA comment: "The AP's report that Iran is recruiting for money Afghan counter-revolutionaries to participate in the fratricidal war against Iraq dispels the imperialist propaganda myth that the so-called 'mujaheddins' are 'freedom fighters.' In fact, they are mercenaries... Those who enlisted in the Iranian army, preferring Iranian Tumans to \$US have made their choice because it has become too dangerous to raid the DRA..."

2/6 - Those children of workers, who for "some reasons were not able to complete their studies" at Kabul Univ., will be provided with room board & a monthly allowance to finish their courses.

2/7 - Nangarhar peasants harvested over 50m tons of wheat, rice, corn, barley & cereals this year.

- 350 bandits were eliminated & 112 wounded in Herat, Kandahar & Khost.

- The Council of Ministers met to discuss land reforms & approved "extra regional salary for operational groups working in provinces."

- Babrak met with elders from Khost.

2/9 - The BBC "obviously distorts facts when it alleges that the White House has no clear-cut policy regarding Afghanistan." [!, Ed.]

- In Nangarhar over 3,400 tons of citrus fruit & 100 tons of olives have been harvested this season. 3,000 tons of the citrus was exported to the USSR.

2/12 - Feb. 12 to 15 were declared national days of mourning in the DRA on the death of Andropov. The Afghan & the PDPA flags were flown at half mast.

Babrak signed the condolence book at the Russian Embassy in Kabul.

- A Hindu temple was inaugurated by Gen. Gul Aqa in Kabul.

2/13-Babrak left for Moscow for Andropov's funeral. Ali Keshtmand saw him off at the airport & then chaired the Council of Minister's meeting.

- 547 million eggs have been laid in the DRA since 3/83.

2/14 - An \$13m exchange of goods agreement was signed by the DRA & Poland

2/15 - Babrak met with Chernenko on Moscow on 2/14 & 2/15.

- In Helmand, 3,000 workers have joined trade unions; 125 of these have joined the revolutionary defenders.

- Bareq Shafie of the NFF led a delegation on a visit to Poland & Czechoslovakia.

2/16 - Kabul U, after a winter vacation, "has regained its academic life." 1030 girls & 793 boys are newly enrolled this semester.

2/18 - An earthquake, 5.7 on the Richter Scale, shook Kabul & surroundings.

- Reporting to the Politburo on his meeting with Chernenko, Babrak said that Chernenko stresses "the foreign policy of the country of Soviets is inflexible."

2/19 - Bakhtar reports that VOA & BBC say that a "committee" set up to negotiate resistance unification has worked out a "draft constitution of free Afghanistan" which is to be submitted to a "mythical 'grand council of tribes' which will allegedly gather in Egypt or Saudi Arabia." "The West has more than once pompously reported about various 'unions' & 'alliances' of Afghan counter-revolution but they all ceased their existence instantaneously. Thus, the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujaheddin...broke down the other day... It's leader, Abdul Rasul Sayaf, was accused by his 'associates' of using the 'unity's' funds for private needs & purging the rivals in the struggle for power."

2/20 - Babrak presided over a Central Committee meeting on the "expansion of socio-economic & cultural activities in the tribal regions." Responsible state & party officials were urged to "pay urgent & serious attention to developing the economy & culture of tribal regions & to take decisive actions for stopping the interventions of miscreants..."

- 600 tons of cotton were purchased from growers in Herat.

2/21 - An extensive tree-planting campaign has started in the DRA.

2/22 - A number of DRA soldiers in Herat were awarded "medals of honesty, honor & the Red Banner for the bravery & heroism shown by them in the combat front against the counter-revolution."

- Counter-revolutionaries "who were going to smuggle abroad 392 kgs of lapis lazuli" were arrested in Parwan; others were arrested in Nimroz & Jauzjan.

2/23 - Since the counter-revolutionaries distribute narcotics among Afghan youth, the DYOA, the Public Health & the Interior Ministries will "take proper measures for preventing youth from addiction to narcotics, its production, extension & distribution throughout the country."

- Babrak told the Politburo that the co-operative movement is to be "given a focal point."

2/25 - "About 6,000 youth, including workers, peasants & teachers," have joined youth organizations in Jauzjan. The Ghazni security command has set up 20 literacy courses & 200 soldiers have enrolled. The NFF in Kandahar has 7,000 members.

2/27 - Precious stones worth Afs. 3m, 50,000 tons of salt & 60,000 tons of construction material have been mined this year.

- Bakhtar reports that over the past 3 years the "counter-revolution set on fire 1874 schools," destroyed 30 hospitals & 100 health clinics & 800 trucks; 14,000 km of telephone line; a number of power stations & "tens of economic projects" amounting to Afs. 24 billion. However, "the enemies could not paralyze the economy of the country, impose famine... or retard its economic growth."

An Afghan film, "Call for Peace," & a Soviet documentary, "Afghan Diary," were screened at the 26th Int'l. Documentary & Short Film Festival in Leipzig. The Soviet film was based on the diary of TV reporter Alexander Kaverghneov and shows life in the DRA today. (KNT 11/23)

2/28 - "Over 20,000 tons of wheat & barely were harvested in Samangan."

- Keshtmand told participants in a 3-day land reform seminar that over 96,000 Afghan peasant families had received land since the April Revolution. He said "53.2% of the land was sown by the peasants, 33% of the distributed land was forcibly taken off from the possession of peasants and was given back to the 1st owners & 13% of it was not cultivated due to shortage of water. 70% of those who received land have obtained title deeds, the rest either did not have land ownership documents or had concealed them for fear of miscreants."

2/29 - The 13th Plenum of the PDPA was held. The main topics were the intensification of combat against the counter-revolution & the further consolidation of state power.

- Literary, artistic & journalistic awards will be presented to 108 people in August on the eve of Independence celebrations. 26 awards will be for literature, 27 for theater, music, painting, etc., & 18 for journalism & pamphleteering. Afs. 1.1m has been allocated for the awards.

Moh'd Bashir Baghlani is now Justice Minister & Attorney General.

The Soviet Ambassador in Kabul is Fikrat Ahmad Janovich.



The Minister of National Defence, evaluating the work of the session of the primary party organizations of the army.



# CHRONOLOGY

12/11 - SCMP - Reports from Istalif indicate that Soviet troops "bayoneted & slit the throats of children" during house-to-house fighting in October.

12/12 - HK Standard - Yunis Khalis leaves alliance:

Islamabad (Reuter) — A key Afghan guerilla group yesterday pulled out of the main alliance of Moslem insurgents fighting the Soviet-backed government in Kabul and denounced its president as a fraud.

Yunis Khalis, leader of a successful force strong in eastern Afghanistan, said in a statement that the president of the seven-party alliance of Afghan Mujahideen (Islamic fighters) was using its funds to fight rival resistance groups inside the country.

Mr Khalis' decision, announced at an international Islamic conference here, opened a new round in the series of inter-party squabbles which have plagued the Pakistan-based guerilla groups since Soviet troops entered Afghanistan four years ago.

It also appeared aimed at undercutting the near monopoly the alliance president, Abd-i-Rab Rasoul Sayaf, enjoys on funds from Middle Eastern countries, Western diplomats said.

Mr Khalis, leader of a faction of the Islamic fundamentalist Hezb-i-Islami Party, said Mr Sayaf was using these funds to build up his small group against other guerilla organisations.

Mr Khalis said, "to entrust Sayaf with aid meant for the Mujahideen is like abetting the murder of the Afghan people's rights."

"If the Moslem world wishes to help the Afghan Mujahideen, it must first acquaint itself with the facts and sift the real Mujahideen from those who merely use the "jihad" (holy war) for profit."

12/16 - SCMP - John Stokes writes from Peshawar: "Peshawar is also filled with foreigners - Arab religious leaders trying to get the warring factions together; French, American & British 'diplomats' trying to shift the disparate Afghan rebel groups into their camp; arms suppliers & agents pretending to be journalists; & the ubiquitous Chinese who are now the main arms suppliers to Afghanistan."

12/20 - Pakistan Times (PT) - Mujahideen captured the customs house & the border post at Torkham.

12/21 - PT - Mujahideen liberated the Qarghaye district of Laghman. In Kabul mujahideen reportedly killed Said Ahmad Barkhurdar, Gen'l. Director of the Inspection Dept. of the Khad. Mujahideen in Parwan claim to have captured 42 Russian soldiers, mostly from Tajikistan.

12/22 - SCMP - Pakistani Interior Minister Mahmoud Haroon said in an interview that the Zia Gov't. knew that Pakistani terrorists were being trained in Afghanistan.

12/23 - AP Report - Afghanistan accused Pakistan of providing military cover for the raid on Torkham (see 12/20) on 12/15.

12/25 - PT - Pakistan categorically rejected the allegation of the Kabul Gov't (see 12/23). The Pakistan Foreign Office stated that "it is well known that the resistance in Afghanistan is an indigenous freedom struggle being carried on by the heroic Afghan people" & that the "repetition of baseless allegations of Pakistan's involvement is only a device to misrepresent the true nature of their struggle."

12/26 - NYT - Over 100,000 Afghan students & workers marched on the US Embassy in Kabul to protest the US invasion of Grenada.

- Drew Middleton reports that "the most active Soviet force in Afghanistan is the 201st Motor Rifle Division, which has brigades at Jalalabad, Bagram & Kandahar & independent companies at Ghazni, Kunduz & Faizabad." The Jalalabad force was called in to wipe out the insurgents who captured Torkham. Of the estimated 12 - 15,000 Soviet troops actually fighting the resistance, only 5-700 are involved in daily operations; major operations rarely involve more than 5-6,000 troops of the 201st.

12/27 - SCMP - Guerrilla short-wave radio broadcasts were inaugurated for the 4th anniversary of Soviet intervention. The broadcasts originate in Eastern Afghanistan but use pre-recorded cassettes made in Peshawar. The station was set up with the help of a French group led by Bernard-Henri Levy.

12/28 - Bangkok Post - Demonstrations calling for a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan were held in many parts of the world. In Bangkok, 150 protesters, mostly Thai Muslims, protested.

- PT - Ex-king Zahir Shah announced yesterday: "I have decided during this crucial period in our history to offer my loyal services to my compatriots to help create a single resistance front."

- NYT - The Afghan Gov't. again offered to send home the 105,000 Soviet troops if it received international guarantees that resistance would stop. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar announced that this was impossible.

The glorious April Revolution especially its new and evolutionary phase has been paying special attention to the development of the culture of revolutionary Afghanistan in accordance with the basic and revolutionary duties of the DRA government.

This was stated by Mohammad Anwar the head of the Museums Department in an interview with the Kabul New Times.

Throwing light on the historical background of the National Museum of Afghanistan the head of museums said in 1297 H.S. a number of historical collections and relics including arms, costume needle works, embroideries, flags, inscriptions, calligraphic work etc were placed on display in the Baghi Bala building. Later in 1303 H.S. these relics and historic collections were transferred to a building called Koti Baghcha. The museum was then transferred to the building of the municipality in Darulaman. Until 1321 no change was brought to the relics and collections displayed.

It should be pointed out he said, that until 1321 archeological excavations and studies had not been carried out. Of course, prior to that date excavations may have been carried out in an illegal way and the national museum received nothing of the excavations carried.

But in 1322 for the first time contracts were concluded with foreign countries for archeological excavations and studies. Since then the number of cultural relics and historical wealths of the national museum increased to a great extent.

## Valuable ancient relics on display in national museum

Today, he went to say, the national museum has two main sections namely the display section, and the section where historical relics are shelved and organised in a modern museographic system and are kept for purposes of scientific research and study.

The collections of the relics of museum are placed on display on the basis of the regions and zones of the country. They are put on display either in the hall of the museum or stored and shelved in depots on the basis of the ancient zones and areas.

Today, the National Museum of Afghanistan, he said, is a manifestation of the historical course of transformation of civilisation of the Afghan nation. The most valuable and the richest historical wealth and cultural and art assets have been excavated and unearthed as a result of continuing excavation made since 1322: With its most valuable relics and cultural and artistic collections, the National Museum of Afghanistan is considered now one of the richest museums of the world. The relics belonging to prehistoric eras upto the Islamic period and contained in the National Museum of Afghanistan have drawn the special attention of scholars and men of culture and art.

Touching on the changes which have been introduced to the National Museum of Afghanistan, the head of the museums said: The National Museum of Afghanistan

has always tried to carry out its activity in accordance with the lofty spirit of the revolution. During the current year, for instance, a number of useful activities were carried out in different main sections of the museum as follows:

1— A team was appointed to arrange the following collections of ancient and historical relics in a new museographic system.

a— The collection of the Mandigak relics was arranged, organised and numbered. This collection contains more than 2000 relics.

b— Collection of smuggled relics comprising more than 1000 relics was arranged and shelved and put into veterans for display by the team appointed.

c— The collection of Bagram relics which is considered one of the most valuable and richest collections of the National Museum of Afghanistan was rearranged.

d. The collection of Hadda relics containing 1306 items was organised in a better way.

2— The registering and packing work of the relics unearthed from Tapa-i-Sardar has been completed and finished by the respective team. They are packed in large boxes and are ready for despatch to the National Museum of Afghanistan.

3— During the current year a number of rare, valuable and interesting collections of historical relics have been placed for display on the second floor of the national museum.

4— The repairing department of the National Museum of Afghanistan's one of the important departments of the Museum and could take active part in repairing and maintenance and preservation of the ancient relics and collections of artistic works. The laboratory of the museum was able to protect more than 350 valuable items of the museums against the danger of annihilation. These items are repaired during the first half of the current year.

The head of museum at the end of his interview said that during the first six months of the current year more than 6690 visitors including official guests, students, pioneers etc visited the National Museum of Afghanistan. كټ ١٢/١٢

Articles, book reviews & information for the next issue should be sent to the Forum by May 15.

به يك گل بهار  
نی شود

"One flower  
Doesn't make  
a spring."



12/29 - CSM - Edward Girardet writes that for the Red Army, the war in Afghanistan has lasted longer than WW II: that the Soviets are spending \$3 billion per year on the occupation; that Soviet casualties average over 100 per week during summer & autumn fighting periods but many are thought to be the result of accidents & disease. The Communist Party is estimated at 50-80,000 card holders but less than 15% are thought to be convinced Communists.

- SCMP -

The Afghan Council parliament of traditional Afghan leaders is preparing a unified resistance against Soviet occupying troops.

Mr Rasul Zalmi, a representative of the Afghan resistance in Europe, said the council would meet in exile early next year to approve moves for a joint resistance.

The council, traditional meeting point of about 500 leaders for more than 1,000 years, would probably meet in Peshawar, Pakistan, or in Saudi Arabia, he said.

Mr Zalmi said more than 80 per cent of Afghans favoured the summoning of the council, which would elect a unified command of all resistance groups.

Three resistance groups, all Islamic fundamentalists, had not yet given their backing, and efforts were continuing to change their positions.

The last meeting of the Afghan Council was in the 1950s when Afghanistan decided to join the non-aligned movement.

The decision to call a meeting of the council was taken at a Rome conference in July of the main resistance movements and of the ex-king of Afghanistan, Mohammed Zaher Shah, who has been exiled in Italy for several years.

The ex-king said in a message released today that since the Soviet invasion four years ago, the guerrilla conflict had "resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen, the flight of more than four million seeking refuge abroad and the destitution of millions more inside the country as well as the destruction of most cities and villages."

A united front would give the resistance a single voice to which "the free world can listen," he said.

12/29 - NYT - Pope John Paul II called for a just solution to the conflict in Afghanistan.

- SCMP - Extra security measures were in force in Kabul in the event of increased guerrilla activity on the anniversary of the Soviet invasion.

- AP - Afghan officials told visiting Western journalists that there are 500 political prisoners in Afghanistan (see p. 14).

12/30 - PT - Mujahideen killed Afghan Gen. Qudos Rashid in Balkh.

1/1 - PT - Ghaffar Khan is receiving medical treatment at Lady Reading Hospital in Peshawar; Pakistan says he is not under arrest.

1/2 - NYT - A British study of Soviet aid says that while the USSR reported to the UN that it gave \$44 billion in aid between 1976 & 1980, the actual amount given was only \$8 billion. Soviet aid is heavily concentrated on 6 countries - Cuba, Mongolia, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia & Afghanistan.

1/3 - Bangkok Post - The DRA has ordered all eligible men to sign up for military service by 3/21/84 or face imprisonment.

1/4 - SCMP - AFP reports that Kandahar has "fallen" to the rebels. The guerrillas have set up their own administration including Islamic courts. Schools & colleges in Kandahar are closed except the two which the resistance has ordered to provide refuge to young Afghans wishing to avoid the draft.

1/6 - PT - Reportedly 4 senior employees of Afghan Radio & TV left their jobs because of Soviet pressure on them to propagate Russian culture.

1/10 - PT - Soviet troops reportedly slaughtered 140 women & children in Ghazni on 12/19 in retaliation for a mujahideen attack the day before.

1/11 - HK Standard - Heavy fighting was reported in Ghazni on 12/31 & in early January.

- SCMP - Guerrillas shot down 2 MIGs near Kandahar; Herat was without electric power for 2 weeks; shops in Mazar-i-Sharif now close at 4 p.m.; refugees continue to leave Kandahar for Iran.

1/12 - PT - The Soviets have discovered uranium in the Khawaja Rawash Mts. near Kabul & have been shipping it back to Russia for the past few months, according to Mir Zamar Moh'd, former chief engineer of the Geological Survey of the Min. of Mines & Industry.

1/14 - NYT - Lt. Gen. Anatoli Dragun, a Soviet signal corps officer, died "while carrying out his duty," presumably in Afghanistan.

- PT - Over 2,000 Afghan refugees have arrived in Baluchistan recently and more are expected. The refugees are being expelled from Iran and witnesses say that Iranian army trucks are used to transport the Afghans to the Pakistan border. (See p. 10)

1/15 - NYT - Tass warned Iran that criticism of Moscow's involvement in Afghanistan would harm Soviet-Iranian trading links.

1/16 - NYT - The DRA broke through the guerrilla siege of Urgun & sent in the first land convoy since last summer. Snow & cold drove the guerrillas from their positions. (See p. 9)

- PT - Mujahideen estimate the number of Soviets in Afghanistan at 200,000.

- The UNHCR will provide Pakistan with Rs. 920,102,682 in 1984 of which Rs. 582,489,723 will be in cash; the rest will be in kind.

1/17 - NYT - Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang told the NYT that he doubted that the Soviets would withdraw from Afghanistan at present. "Only when the Soviets change their strategy of driving southward & when international economic difficulties force a change, will there be one," he said.

- The 4th Islamic Conference opened yesterday. Afghanistan was suspended because of the Soviet occupation; Rabbani represented the resistance.

- Pres. Reagan, in a speech on US-Soviet relations given yesterday, called Afghanistan one of three problem areas where the government should make a major effort to find a peaceful solution.

1/18 - SCMP - A captured Soviet soldier said that Moscow runs a basic training camp for freshly drafted Soviet soldiers near Darul Aman in Kabul.

- Mujahideen are responsible for black-outs in Kabul, Herat & Mazar-i-Sharif; black market kerosene prices are up 50% this month because of mujahideen attacks on convoys; petrol & diesel shortages are expected.

1/19 - PT - UNHCR aid to Pakistan will total \$65m this year of which \$44m will be administered directly by the Pakistan Government.

1/21 - PT - The 4th Islamic Summit ended yesterday with a call for unstinting support to the people of Afghanistan who are heroically fighting occupation forces.

1/22 - PT - An official of the Kuwaiti Foreign Ministry said that Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was one of the major reasons for the creation of the Gulf Cooperation Council in 1981.

1/23 - PT - Mujahideen shot down 3 MIGs in Badakhshan; however, the Soviets have destroyed over 1,000 houses & killed over 200 civilians in the Garam, Miyanshir, Khastak, Yamate & Aijman areas of Badakhshan.

1/24 - PT - Mujahideen wiped out a military post in Kunar on 1/4.

- Haleem Karimi, a Mujahid living in Iran, told a London press conference that of the 1m Afghan refugees in Iran, only 15,000 are receiving any aid from the Iranian Gov't.

1/25 - SCMP - Lt. Gen. Nazar Moh'd, a Khalqi & former head of the Afghan air force, was made Chief of Staff on 1/7 replacing Gen. Baba Jan. Maj. Gen. Ghulam Qader Miakhel was made Deputy Chief of Staff & Chief of Army Operations. Maj. Gen. Nabi Azimi, recently back from training in the USSR, was made 1st Dep. Minister of Defense. (This spot has been vacant since Maj. Gen. Khalilullah was put under house arrest for beating up Lt. Gen. Abdul Qader.)

- PT - Mujahideen shot down a helicopter in the Panjshir, wiped out a military post in Kapisa & attacked a convoy in Ghazni.

- NYT - Assassinations of Party members, a Soviet military official Maj. Gen. Karakhmanov, & Wahid Sabri, a well-known singer who recently returned from Moscow were reported by Western diplomats.

- HK Standard - Report from Iran by

Michael Sheridan:

Afghan fundamentalist Muslim guerillas fighting a bitter "holy war" against Soviet and Government troops in Afghanistan's northwest Herat province say they have struck inside the Soviet Union itself.

Mujahedeen guerilla leaders interviewed in the eastern Iranian city of Meshed, near the Afghan border, said the latest raid inside Soviet territory came about two weeks ago.

It was an attack on a Soviet customs post at Torghundi on the Soviet-Afghan border, said one, adding that several guards were killed and arms and ammunition captured.

The customs post was on the main road connecting Herat to the Soviet Central Asian city of Merv.

Mr Sayed Mohammad Kheirhah, who identified himself as a guerilla political officer in the Herat region, painted a grim picture of the historically strategic area.

He said fighting was constant and Soviet bombardments were claiming a heavy civilian casualty toll.

He said guerilla groups had launched raids across the Soviet border, laying mines on roads, attacking isolated customs posts and ambushing patrols.

The Islamic guerillas, who have offices in Meshed and Teheran, are grouped within the Ittihad-e-Islami Mujahedeen-e-Afghanistani (the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahedeen), a coalition of seven Islamic groups united to fight the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

Another guerilla, Mr Mohammad Asghar, who described himself as a military commander, said Soviet and Afghan Government troops in Herat province were under continuous harassment.

He said the Soviet and Afghan Government troops moved only in convoys and rarely left their heavily-guarded barracks.

The Afghan guerillas complained that world attention was focused on actions in southern Afghanistan, near the capital Kabul and along the Afghan-Pakistan border.

They said the war of attrition in the remote northwestern province of Herat was far more serious for the Soviet Union.

The two men, in their late 30s or early 40s, were interviewed in a cold and damp makeshift hospital run by the Afghans in Meshed where about 50 seriously wounded fighters are under treatment.

Iran allows humanitarian aid to the Mujahedeen but does not permit them to set up bases on its side of the border.

The Mujahedeen estimate there are 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Iran.

Thousands are in the Meshed area, many living on the dilapidated outskirts of the city about 80 km from the Afghan border.

Iran condemns the Soviet presence in Afghanistan and the Iranian media, which regularly report guerilla attacks, refer to the Mujahedeen as "Muslim revolutionaries."

The two guerilla leaders said they had crossed from Afghanistan to visit the wounded, driving to Meshed in captured Soviet vehicles, a jeep and an ambulance.

The men lying on mattresses and couches in the decrepit rooms of the hospital are the lucky ones. Mr Kheirhab said many severely wounded fighters died on the battlefield.

The Mujahedeen have no major medical facilities in Herat province although there were two mobile medical centres for treating light wounds, he said.

According to the guerrillas, Herat itself is mainly under their control with Soviet forces confined to key buildings. It is Afghanistan's third city, with 90,000 inhabitants.

Conquered by Cyrus the Great, Alexander the Great and Tamerlane, the city is a treasure house of art and architecture from the mediaeval renaissance under the Timurid dynasty in the late 14th century.

The Mujahedeen said it had been devastated.

Mr Kheirhab added that Soviet troops had fired hundreds of surface-to-surface missiles into residential areas and air strikes had killed many civilians.

However, despite the vicious fighting, he said the Mujahedeen had established their own underground provincial administration in the city, with nine committees handling everything from justice to agriculture.

Herat lies in an oasis-like fertile part of Afghanistan, where traditional produce included figs, almonds, pistachio nuts and raisins, while the provincial valleys grew wheat, lentils, millet, sugar cane and vegetables.

Now, the guerrillas said, food shortages were so acute that lorries carrying grain and sugar down the main road from the Soviet Union were targets second only to military convoys.

2/2 - PT - Nur Ahmad Nur apparently went to Moscow with his family on 1/18. Some think he was "banished" for trying to overthrow Babrak; others think he may be being groomed to replace Babrak. One story has it that he tried to go to India early in January but was stopped by the secret police.

(The photo shows Noor inaugurating a sports complex in Kabul on 11/1/83.)



- The Soviet Ambassador in Pakistan speaks out:

FEB. 1: The Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr Vitaly S. Smirnov, accused Pakistan here today of waging an undeclared war on Afghanistan and providing 80 military bases to the 'Afghan bandits' to create disturbances.

He also said that the state of insurgency had been brought about in Afghanistan from a neighbouring country namely Pakistan where the "counter revolutionaries were cheered, helped and saluted". They had the national television and mass media to build them up and they were invited to chair international conferences in which they gave a call to the Muslim countries to kill the Soviets and to start a 'crusade' against socialism.

He said that "gangs of Afghan bandits were being trained, armed and equipped in Pakistan which was the main conduit of foreign arms and various supplies to Afghan 'terrorists'".

After narrating a list of allegations against Pakistan he posed a question: "Does it not affect Pak-Soviet relations?"

The Soviet Ambassador was speaking at a function arranged by the Council of Defence Studies at the residence of Dr. Parvez Hassan. The address of welcome was read by Malik Wazir Ali, Chairman of the Council of Defence Studies.

THREE CATEGORIES: He said that the "so-called" Afghan refugees could be classified into three categories (I) Counter revolutionaries who fled when Afghanistan turned a new leaf and the "revolution" was ushered in. Strictly speaking they were not revolutionaries since they dreaded the new order in their country.

(II) Those who left their homes because of disturbed conditions. (II) Those whose hands were soaked in blood meaning they had been responsible for blood feuds and had now run away with their clans because of the new government in Afghanistan.

He also charged that the "counter-revolutionary organisation did not allow the refugees to return" and accused the Pakistan authorities of doing the same.

NO WITHDRAWAL: When he had to face a barrage of questions he said: "We shall not leave Afghanistan and you are to blame since you don't want us to leave."

The Ambassador was pointedly asked if a proposal had been made that an international commission be constituted to check whether any training camps existed in Pakistan since the Pakistan Government denied that it was interfering in any manner in the affairs of a neighbouring country, he replied that no such proposal had ever been made.

1/28 - PT - Canada granted \$3m to the UNHCR to support the joint UNHCR-World Bank program for Afghan refugees. [The \$20m project will employ refugees to work on water, reforestation & other projects.] Canada's 1983-84 assistance to Afghan refugees is \$22m.

1/29 - PT - Afghan MIGs bombed the Pakistani village of Anqur Adda in South Waziristan. 40 were killed, 60 injured & Pakistan has protested to the DRA & the UN. 5 Afghan refugees were among the dead.

2/1 - PT - The paper carried a summary of DRA violations of Pakistan's air space:

year	violations	killed	injured
1980	179	3	9
1981	98	7	24
1982	60	0	2
1983	70	3	9
1984 so far	4	42	60

- NYT - Hundreds of civilians reportedly were killed in January in bombing raids on villages in the Shomali Valley.

2/2 - The Island (Sri Lanka) - The Afghan Gov't. promised free land for housing to Afghans doing at least 5 years military service.

- PT - The Senate Foreign Relations Comm. began debate on a draft resolution assuring the Afghan freedom fighters of the moral & material support of the American people.

He added that the Soviet Union knew the route that was adopted for making available the armaments to the "insurgents". The route he said, was Karachi - Lahore - Peshawar. Some of those who were caught resisting the consolidation of the government in Afghanistan, he said, had disclosed the details.

Nevertheless he said the Soviet Union wished to have friendly relations with Pakistan adding that his country

"would not move into Pakistan since it has enough hot and cold water." The Soviet Union was interested in having close co-operation with Pakistan...

He also suggested the construction of a highway from Moscow to Afghanistan-Pakistan-India and China which would open a magnificent route through which trade could flourish. But it had to be a multi-national highway and all the countries had to cooperate.

A delayed report reaching the same embassy said the New Year's Eve bombing of Rauza, a village outside Ghazni, claimed 193 lives, mostly women and children.

2/11 - The US State Dept. annual survey of human rights on Afghanistan:

The survey found Afghanistan's secret police, backed by the Soviet forces in the country, to be "an increasingly efficient agent of repression" and "a prime tool" for control of the population. "The effect of the ubiquitous secret police," the report added, "has been to create a pervasive atmosphere of mutual suspicion and fear. There appears to be little prospect for early amelioration of the human rights situation."

2/3 - Sarasota Herald - A series of earthquakes shook Kabul & Jalalabad. One person was killed & 35 injured.

2/4 - PT - Gulbuddin Hikmatyar left for Iran to participate in the anniversary celebrations of the Iranian Revolution.

2/5 - PT - Pres. Zia categorically denies the Soviet Ambassador's allegation of the existence of mujahideen training camps on Pakistani soil. (See 2/2.)

2/6 - Bangkok Post - Guerrilla commander, Mula Joora, was killed by the DRA in Faryab. Pakistan revised the casualty figures from the raid on Angoor Adda to 45 dead, 70 injured & 200 shops & homes destroyed. (See 1/29)

2/8 - NYT & PT - Istalif was hit again last week. Civilians were killed; Soviets set fire to crops & houses; heavy bombing destroyed the market place. The Bangkok Post reports that over 900 civilians have been killed in the Shomali Valley since October. The SCMP says the following:

One embassy gave a detailed account, saying Soviet troops surrounded Istalef around 3 am on Thursday and began searching for Muslim guerrillas.

They captured or killed about 10 guerrillas, many with their wives and children, and then set fire to their houses and about a dozen vehicles.

The troops also burned food stocks and killed livestock, the report said.

As the Soviet troops withdrew, tanks and multiple rocket launchers opened fire on the town.

Helicopter gunships later arrived from Kabul to bomb and rocket Istalef.

The embassy report quoted Kabul sources as saying at least 50 Soviet soldiers were captured and killed on the spot by guerrillas of the Hezb-i-Islami and Jamiat-i-Islami resistance groups.

The diplomats also reported attacks further up the Shomali valley, a strategic link in the Soviet supply chain to Kabul, with the main highway to the north passing through it.

They said Soviet troops also entered the village of Qarabagh and Afghan forces attacked villages in the Guldara valley early on Thursday.

Resistance was again reported to have been fierce and casualties high.

Near Shakardara, a village between Istalef and Kabul, more than 100 Afghan soldiers including a general and two colonels were reported to have died when Soviet helicopters mistakenly opened fire on them, one embassy reported.

The incident reportedly occurred on January 27.

The soldiers were said to be from the 8th Division, a unit based just west of Kabul.

The division lost its commander, Maj-General Mohammad Abdul A'zam, when his helicopter was shot down by guerrillas in mid-November.

2/15 - Bangkok Post - The DRA is allowing some prisoners to serve their sentences in the army instead of jail. A law making this possible was reportedly published in the Official Gazette in January.

2/18 - SCMP - About 2 dozen Afghan guerrillas were arrested by Pakistani authorities for shooting at trucks & buses on the Pakistan side of the Pak-Afgh. border. The rebels apparently objected to the continued trade & traffic across the border.

- PT - David Rockefeller visited the Kacha Garhi refugee village yesterday & assured the refugees that the US was supplying relief items.

2/19 - PT - Two Afghans died in a fire at the Dara Tanj refugee camp.

2/22 - NYT - A US State Dept. report, presented to the UN, stated that there were no confirmed uses of chemical weapons in Afghanistan last year.

2/23 - UN Press Release - A draft calling for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan was introduced in the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva on 2/21. Under the draft, introduced by Pakistan, the Commission would also affirm the right of the Afghan refugees to return to their homes in safety & honor; urge all concerned to work towards a settlement which would ensure that the Afghan people determine their destiny free from outside interference; and request the Sec'y-Gen. to continue his efforts with a view to promoting a political solution, in accordance with the provisions of the relevant General Assembly resolutions. In addition, the draft would have the Commission appeal to all States & national & international organizations to extend humanitarian relief assistance, with a view to alleviating the hardship of Afghan refugees, in coordination with the UNHCR.



2/29 - SCMP - Guerrillas staged coordinated attacks on targets in Kabul to mark the 4th anniversary of city-wide protests against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Reportedly a fire was started in the Soviet Embassy. The attacks took place on 2/21. Bloody fighting was reported in Herat between Khalq & Parcham factions in the Afghan army's 17th division; a general was reportedly injured. The road from Kabul to the Pakistan border was closed more than it was open this month because of skirmishes. The Soviets have sent an extra 40 tanks to Anawa in the Panjshir.

### 3/2 - SCMP - John Stokes writes from Islamabad:

GRUESOME pictures of 45 Pathan tribesmen, who were horribly injured by Afghan MiG fighter-bombers in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier province, have been shown on Pakistan television for weeks after the event. The bombing also killed 35 inhabitants of a tribal village.

It is believed in Islamabad, from information supplied by Afghan Air Force officers, that the MiGs were piloted by Russians. The episode happened when the jets were in "hot pursuit" of Afghan guerrillas, who use sanctuaries in Pakistan from which to slip over the border into their own country.

The Soviets seem to be using a carrot-and-stick policy to try to push Pakistan away from its close co-operation with the United States and Saudi Arabia. It involves financial aid on the one hand and on the other the demonstration that they can carry out a "hot pursuit" air attack with impunity.

When the Pakistan Finance Minister, Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan, visited Moscow in December for trade talks, he received what one of his officials called "a sudden jolt from the blue." This took the form of an offer of US\$277 million (about HK\$2.16 billion) on "soft" terms to build a 630 MW thermal power station at Multan, which will go a long way towards helping to solve Pakistan's electricity shortage.

The money will be repayable in kind, which will boost Pakistani exports of consumer goods and agricultural products to the Soviet Union.

The Soviets also appear keen to help in the finance of the proposed Kalabagh dam. This will cost US\$3.7 billion (about HK\$38.86 billion) and will provide both electricity and irrigation water.

Moscow's strategy is to lure Pakistan away from Western aid agencies and to gain a foothold in the country.

With the financial aid there are three million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and more than a dozen resistance groups have their headquarters at Peshawar, where they regularly receive weapons and cash from Western and Arab countries.

Pakistan's finances are such that it would be hard to refuse such generous offers, on cheap terms of interest. Nevertheless most bankers and economists in Islamabad believe that the decision on whether to accept them will be political rather than economic. The Americans could put pressure on the Pakistan military regime to turn them down.

However, the Soviet stick is also there. Its Ambassador, Mr V.I. Smirnov, recently warned in Islamabad that Moscow would be forced to act against Pakistan unless it stopped helping the Afghan resistance movement.

However, elections in Pakistan seem a long way off and, although shaken by opposition activities in Sind, the military regime's priority is the saddle.

3/3 - NYT - The DRA said 53 guerrillas were killed & 7 arrested in Sarobi, near Kabul; 20 were executed in Herat.

3/6 - NY Tribune - The Soviets appear to be launching their spring offensives. They attacked the Panjshir on 2/28. Commander Massoud expects future attacks to come through the Andarab Valley.

UNION AID FOR AFGHAN REFUGEES, P.O. Box 428, Peshawar, Pakistan (Tel. 41252) lists the contents of a "first aid bag for mujahideen."

Item	Cost (in Pak. Rupees)
Penicillin, 100 vials	200
Distilled water, 100 amp.	50
Tetanus vaccine, 10 amp.	30
"Novalgin," 20 amp.	20
"Avil," 10 amp.	10
"Serum physiology," 1 bottle	15
Serum glucose, 1 bottle	15
Peroxide, 1 bottle	7
Iodine, 1 bottle	17
Tracycycin, 500 caps.	75
Analgesic, 500 tablets	10
Multi-vitamins, 2000 tabs.	10
Xylocaine sol., 2 bottles	15
Anti-bacterial powder, 6 bot.	6
" " ointment, 6 tubes	9
"Pomade Ophthalmic" 10 tubes	30

A surgical first aid bag contains the following:

Dressing forceps, 2	10
Tissue forceps, 2	12
Arterial forceps, 4	48
Sharp scissors	6
"Blend" "	6
Parker blades, 12	12
Parker handle	6
Needle holder	12
Assorted needles, 12	12
Disposable syringes, 10	20
Roll of cotton	10
Roll of silk	7
Assorted cat gut, 6 pieces	54
Gauze	50
Bandages	40
First aid strap	25
Small-size gauze	50
Leucoplast, 2 rolls	10
Thermometer, 2	10
Gloves, 2 pair	12
Towels (dressing), 4	80
Empty bag	40
Stretcher	40

Each pack weighs 7 kgs (about 15 lbs.)

# Afghanistan: Who Wants a Negotiated Settlement?

WASHINGTON — At a recent conference on Afghanistan, a high American intelligence official took me aside impatiently after I suggested that the United States should begin to support the faltering United Nations effort to negotiate a withdrawal of Soviet combat forces. Afghanistan is "gone," he explained, but the United States intends to make the Russians pay by encouraging the Afghan resistance indefinitely.

He said this "obviously" serves American interests better than a "flaky" United Nations settlement under which Pakistan would end up recognizing some form of Soviet client regime in Kabul — even if the projected settlement would lead to a Soviet withdrawal.

When I objected that this amounted to a policy of "fighting to the last Afghan," he shrugged, saying, "the Afghans love to fight."

Despite formal statements of support, the Reagan administration has done little to further the UN mediation effort. Publicly, the administration seeks to play down the fact that Islamabad and Kabul have reached agreement on major elements of a detailed scenario for a settlement. Behind the scenes, it has increasingly given the impression that it would not endorse the key provisions of the draft text already agreed upon, even if the issues still in dispute could be resolved.

Not only does this negative posture show insensitivity to the embattled Afghans; America is also missing an unprecedented and possibly fleeting diplomatic opportunity to test whether the Soviets are actually prepared for a withdrawal and, if so, on what terms.

American and Pakistani officials say it is up to Moscow and Kabul to make the next move. They are seeking to place the full blame on the Soviets for the intransigence in the June round of indirect negotiations in Geneva and in recent discussions during the current UN General Assembly session. In reality, however, both sides backed off in June from understandings reached in an upbeat April round.

Pakistan agreed in April to the operative language of the "noninterference" clauses of the settlement — barring U.S. and other aid to the resistance through Pakistani territory — and indicated it would not seek to alter this sensitive portion of the text if ~~agreement~~ could be reached with Kabul on the duration of the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

Islamabad signaled its readiness to deal directly with the Soviet-installed regime in Kabul if Moscow would replace President Babrak Karmal. On this basis, Afghan negotiators, with a Soviet adviser in the wings, promised to come back in the next round with a formal proposal on the length of the withdrawal. But in June Islamabad was equivocal both on the "noninterference" clauses and on direct contacts. That gave Moscow a pretext for stalling on the timetable.

Islamabad denies Soviet charges that it was coerced by Washington. But U.S. officials acknowledge that they expressed "serious

doubts" when Foreign Minister Yakub Khan visited Washington on May 25, especially as the settlement would not provide for the replacement of the communist regime in Kabul. The UN scenario envisages parallel political negotiations between Moscow, Kabul and noncommunist Afghans that would lead to a more viable regime capable of governing without the presence of Soviet forces.

The Reagan administration dismisses the UN plan as "unworkable," contending that Kabul would continue to face resistance, during and after Soviet withdrawal, for which Washington would be blamed. But if Moscow sees no hope of stabilizing an acceptable regime, it is unlikely to risk a settlement.

What really worries Washington is not that the Kabul regime would collapse but that it might survive in modified form, albeit with continuing harassment around the margins by a less determined resistance.

Islamabad shares the American desire for a more representative regime in Kabul dominated by noncommunists. But Pakistani diplomats believe that the most realistic way to pursue this objective is through an evolutionary process in which Kabul could uphold the democratic constitution of its 1978 "revolution."

Since Moscow designated the Afghan "revolution" as "national democratic," like that of Ethiopia, a transition to noncommunist control would be consistent with Soviet doctrine. Thus, while insisting on Mr. Karmal's replacement as a precondition for direct dealings with Kabul, Pakistan does not agree with Washington that the regime, as such, must necessarily be replaced prior to a settlement.

Islamabad hopes that former King Zahir Shah's current effort to unify the principal Afghan resistance groups will set the stage for an accommodation with Moscow as an accompaniment to the UN scenario.

For example, after withdrawals start, the king's projected Afghan National United Front could join the Kabul regime in convening a Loi Jirga, or traditional tribal assembly, outside of Afghanistan, to explore the possibilities for reshaping the government.

Soviet sources state that Kabul would be willing to deal with resistance elements on an equal basis in such a framework, in the name of "national reconciliation," but that it would never negotiate with them at the international level, as the United States demands.

Moscow hints that it might be willing to phase out communist dominance in Kabul if noncommunist elements helped them to save face by agreeing to confirm the continuity of the "revolution." The Loi Jirga could test Soviet intentions on this key issue.

More important, it could probe whether a compromise is possible on the terms of the future military relationship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

At present, the idea of a jointly convened Loi Jirga is dismissed out of hand by noncommunist Afghans. But recent talks with Zahir Shah and his advisers in Rome suggest that this type of negotiating format might be viewed differently if Moscow agreed to a withdrawal timetable and if the United Nations could get a Soviet withdrawal started.

Above all, in my view, prospects for the Loi Jirga idea would depend on Moscow signaling readiness to accept a restructured Kabul regime dominated by noncommunists.

Pakistan has been playing for time in the negotiations, while seeking to make the settlement more palatable to its critics in Washington by promoting some form of accommodation between Moscow and the principal resistance elements. To keep the negotiations from collapsing, Islamabad appears ready to

confirm its original understanding with Kabul that the provisions of the draft text barring aid to the resistance would not be modified if agreement can be reached on the starting date and duration of the withdrawal.

Since April, however, with superpower tensions steadily worsening, the Soviet line has hardened. Soviet diplomats say that Washington would have to declare American readiness to honor the settlement before Kabul would present its timetable.

The United States, like the Soviet Union, cannot be expected to make a binding commitment with respect to any part of the settlement before agreement is reached on the total package. But American spokesmen could appropriately declare in general terms that the draft text constitutes an acceptable basis for further negotiations.

In particular, Washington could express its readiness to endorse the "noninterference" clauses if agreement is reached on the withdrawal. Should the Russians then fail to present their timetable to the United Nations, it would be clear to the world that they have merely been engaging in diplomatic brinkmanship for propaganda purposes.

The writer, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and author of "In Afghanistan's Shadow," contributed this article to the *International Herald Tribune*.

By Selig S. Harrison

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE 12/20

URGUN FALLS HK Standard 1/23

## Afghan city siege rebels 'crushed'

— Islamabad, Jan 22.

Soviet and Afghan troops have broken the rebel siege of the city of Urgan with the help of several rebel groups who rallied to the Soviets, the official Afghan radio said yesterday.

The Minister for Tribes and Nationalities, Mr. Suleiman Layaev, said on Radio Kabul the resistance was "crushed" around the garrison city near the Pakistan border.

The Afghan rebels had isolated the city and its 300 soldiers by the end of the summer, but the defection of two rebel leaders allowed Soviet and Afghan reinforcements to reach Urgan.

One rebel unit moved away from a hill commanding the city's airfield, allowing the Soviets to fly in supplies, while the other withdrew from the road linking Urgan to Gardex to the north, resistance sources in Peshawar said.

Several hundred Soviet soldiers backed by about 50 tanks used the road to break through the siege. Last week, infantry units struck out at the rebel positions around the city.

The sources in Peshawar, on the Pakistani side of the border, had no explanation for the two apparent defections.

Mr Layaev said in his broadcast that 14,000 anti-tank mines were seized along with 30 cannon and large amounts of food and ammunition.

The fact that it was not the Minister of Defence but the Minister of Tribes and Nationalities who announced the victory was seen as a sign that the defection of the rebels, for the Government, had played a key role in ending the siege.

The battle also dealt a blow to Mujahadeen leader Mr. Mjallaludin Haqqani, one of the rare leaders to command a following beyond his own tribe who had co-ordinated the military actions of several rival groups.

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Line Drawings from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar  
The Chicago Afghanistan Relief  
Committee



ABBREVIATIONS USED

PT - Pakistan Times  
CSM - Christian Science Monitor  
KNT - Kabul New Times  
NYT - New York Times  
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review  
AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal  
WSJ - Wall Street Journal  
AICMB - Afghanistan Information Ctr. Monthly Bulletin  
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan  
CC - Central Committee  
NFF - National Fatherland Front  
NWFP - North West Frontier Province  
DYOA - Democratic Youth Organization of  
Afghanistan  
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan  
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of  
Afghanistan  
RTV - Refugee Tent Village

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